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An Irish Quarterly Review

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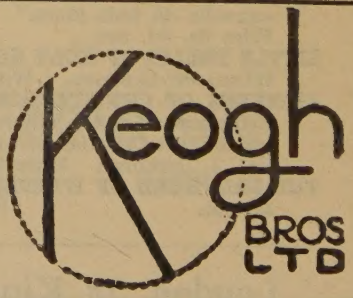

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STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

SEPTEMBER 1929

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GALWAY A SEA AND AIR PORT

BY SIR JOHN PURSER GRIFFITH, M.A.I., M.INST.C.E.,

Past President of the Institution of Civil Engineers
Engineer to the Dublin Port and Docks Board, 1871-1913.

"DO not let Ireland be pushed off the great high road between the West and East," were the words of the late Viscount Morley of Blackburn when he was the Chief Secretary for Ireland nearly forty years ago. The occasion was the threatened stoppage of the American inward and outward mails and passengers from landing or departing from Ireland. The speed and size of the transatlantic liners had increased so much that the saving of time by shipping the mails at Queenstown instead of Liverpool became insignificant.

The increase in the size of the vessels engaged in this service added to the difficulty of finding a port in Ireland into which they could safely enter at all states of tide, while none of the ports provided accommodation for safe berthage. Passengers and mails had to be transhipped into tenders, and weather conditions frequently interfered with the service. The natural result was that the steamship companies sought to omit a port of call in Ireland on the grounds of efficiency and economy in the transatlantic mail service.

Ireland has had for many years two ports of call: Moville, at the entrance of Lough Foyle, in the north and Queenstown, or Cobh, in the south. Both depend on a service of tenders for the transport of passengers and mails to or from the ship. Cobh was the principal port of call, and the large transatlantic mail steamers using Liverpool as their terminal port regularly called, weather permitting, at Queenstown for mails and passengers. But the vessels engaged in this service steadily increased in size, and this finally led to the transfer of the largest and fastest steamers from Liverpool to Southampton.

In 1914 the Postmaster-General instituted an inquiry into objections made by the Cunard Company against

their then largest vessels, such as the *Lusitania* and *Mauretania*, using Cobh as a port of call. Evidence was given by Rear-Admiral Herbert E. P. Cust, C.B., Admiralty Hydrographer, and Captain A. H. E. Young, the Professional Adviser of the Marine Department of the Board of Trade, on the subject. Their evidence was adverse to the use of Cobh Harbour by the largest vessels engaged in the transatlantic mail and passenger service.

The result has been that the high speed traffic by the largest and fastest Cunard and White Star vessels has ceased to pass through Ireland. The smaller class of liner still calls, attracted by the flow of emigrants from our shores. It is not to promote or facilitate this exodus that we press for high speed passenger service, but to place our country on the high road between America and Europe, so as to share in the tourist, mail and other traffic which flows annually in increasing volume between Europe and America.

Three questions have to be answered :—

1. What are the requirements necessary to attain the ends in view ?
2. Does Ireland possess the natural geographical and physical features which afford reasonable grounds of hope of attaining our ends ?
3. Are the above objects worth striving for ?

1. What are the requirements necessary to attain the ends in view ?—It will be necessary to provide a port into which the largest and fastest vessels can enter in all weathers and at all states of tide. Vessels in the fast transatlantic services are now approaching a length of 1,000 feet and a draught of forty feet. No British port except Southampton provides this accommodation, and without similar facilities in the proposed Irish western port, where vessels can lie afloat at all states of tide, there is no possibility of establishing a high speed passenger and mail service between Ireland and America.

2. Does Ireland possess the natural geographical and

physical features which would permit of the construction of such a port ?—The need for a port on the west coast of Ireland, suitable for the landing of the transatlantic mails and high speed passenger traffic, has been under discussion for the past hundred years ; and the problem of transatlantic communication has been considered by Commissions and Committees specially appointed for the purpose. Much valuable information was collected ; but the conclusions arrived at in the days when steam navigation was in its infancy and the commerce of the country principally carried on by sailing vessels, are not now of much value, and the needs and problems to be considered must be reviewed afresh in the light of present-day requirements.

The advantages claimed for an efficient port on the west coast may be summarised as follows :—

(*a*) Saving in capital and interest on the cost of ships.
(*b*) Saving in fuel consumed.
(*c*) Saving in the wages of the crews.
(*d*) Saving in commissariat.
(*e*) Saving in delays due to channel navigation and fogs.
(*f*) Saving in time of docking.

The following sites in Ireland have been examined as to their fitness for the proposed service :—Blacksod Bay, Killary Bay, Galway Bay, Shannon Estuary (including Tarbert and Foynes), Cobh (Queenstown). The less attractive merits of Valencia, Berehaven and Dunmanus Bay have also been considered. The relative advantages and disadvantages of these various sites have been carefully investigated under the following heads :—

1. Depth and area.
2. Facility of approach.
3. Shelter.
4. Position of the proposed port.
5. Capacity for development.
6. Facilities for bunkering, commissariat and repairs.

The result of this examination has convinced the writer

that if a suitable and efficient harbour is constructed, Galway Bay affords the best site for the proposed trans-atlantic terminal port—in combination with, if desired, a deep sea fishery harbour.

The accompanying Plan (page 368) shows the position and arrangement of the proposed harbour in Galway Bay. On the same plan the sites of harbours proposed in 1852, 1913, and 1917 are shown. None of these sites would provide the accommodation needed at the present time, either in depth of water or room to manoeuvre, and it has been necessary to choose a site to the westward, between Spiddal and Barna. The nearest possible site is about six miles west of Galway City, on the north side of the Bay, where the 10-fathom line approaches to within 4,000 feet from the shore. The plan of the proposed harbour is shown on page 370.

It consists of a shelter breakwater, deep water berthage with sheds, railway and land reclamation. The design admits of the extension of the works as the need develops. The first stage would be the construction of the breakwater, under shelter of which some 5,500 feet of deep water quays would be constructed, providing berthage for three of the largest liners afloat, the remaining quays being available for the ordinary merchant vessels engaged in the oversea or coasting trade, as well as for vessels engaged in deep sea fishing.

The reclaimed lands will provide space for railway sidings, engine sheds, oil and coal depots and various terminal buildings and offices. The harbour would be equipped with the most modern labour-aiding appliances for the rapid discharge and loading of vessels. Should the deep sea fisheries develop, facilities could be provided for a fish market, curing station, cold storage and ice factory. One of the special advantages of the site proposed for the harbour is that only some six miles of railway, through easy country, would be required to connect it with the main line between Galway and Dublin.

The estimate for the first stage is slightly under £2,000,000, or less than the cost of one ship engaged in this service. The interest on the estimated expenditure will amount to £100,000 per annum, which in its initial stage cannot be expected to be obtained from payment by the ships using the port.

It is a national problem of as great importance as electrical supply, or beet sugar, and deserves the support of the country at large. It may be said that the aim in view is attractive, but is it an economic proposition? What advantages can be claimed for so large an expenditure?

The parties specially interested in this venture are:—

(*a*) The steamship owners engaged in the trans-atlantic high-speed service.

(*b*) The transport interests in this country.

(*c*) The country at large.

The steamship interests would be benefited by a short sea passage, permitting of more frequent voyages and greater earning power. This will be readily understood when we recognise that the cost of each vessel engaged on this service amounts to more than £2,000,000. Interest on capital, sinking fund, insurance and repairs would represent a charge of nearly £1,000 per day. Salaries and wages would represent £400 per day, fuel would be £1,000 per day at sea, while provision for the commissariat would reach £700 per day at sea.

It will be readily understood how important it is to increase the number of voyages made per annum by each ship. With a bi-weekly sailing from Galway and Halifax, six steamers would be required to carry on the service—four actually in commission, with two spare ships. With bi-weekly service from Southampton to New York, eight steamers would be required—six actually in commission, with two spare ships. The Galway service could therefore be carried on with 75 per cent. of the vessels required for the Southampton and New York service. The following

is a summary of the annual cost[1] and of the cost per trip, *at pre-war rates*, of the Southampton-New York and the Galway-Halifax services :—

Southampton—New York. Annual cost of running six ships, with two spare ships	£5,537,600
Galway—Halifax. Annual cost of running four ships, with two spare ships	£4,028,000
Saving by Galway-Halifax route	£1,509,600
Southampton—New York. Cost per trip	£26,623
Galway—Halifax. Cost per trip	£19,365
Saving per trip	£7,258

GALWAY AN AIR PORT

The high speed ocean service across the Atlantic could be supplemented by an air transport installation to England and Scotland and the Continent. Practically the whole of England and Scotland are included in an area within a radius of 400 miles, with Galway as its centre ; in other words, mails and passengers landed at Galway could reach Glasgow, Edinburgh, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham and London within a few hours after landing at Galway—or some fifteen hours earlier than if the sea voyage had been to Southampton.

CONCLUSIONS

1. It is desirable to keep Ireland on the high road between Europe and America.

2. Ireland, being no longer a part of the United Kingdom, cannot look to Great Britain for assistance.

3. The principal transatlantic liners are English owned and have their home ports in England. They are naturally opposed to a terminal port in Ireland, and are even desirous of ceasing to stop at any Irish port of call. The time of making for a port of call in Ireland is seldom compensated for by the revenue from passengers and mails.

[1] The cost covers interest on capital, sinking fund, repairs, insurance, fuel, salaries, wages and commissariat.

4. The struggle for the American and Continental passenger traffic accentuated the desire to pass Ireland without a call.

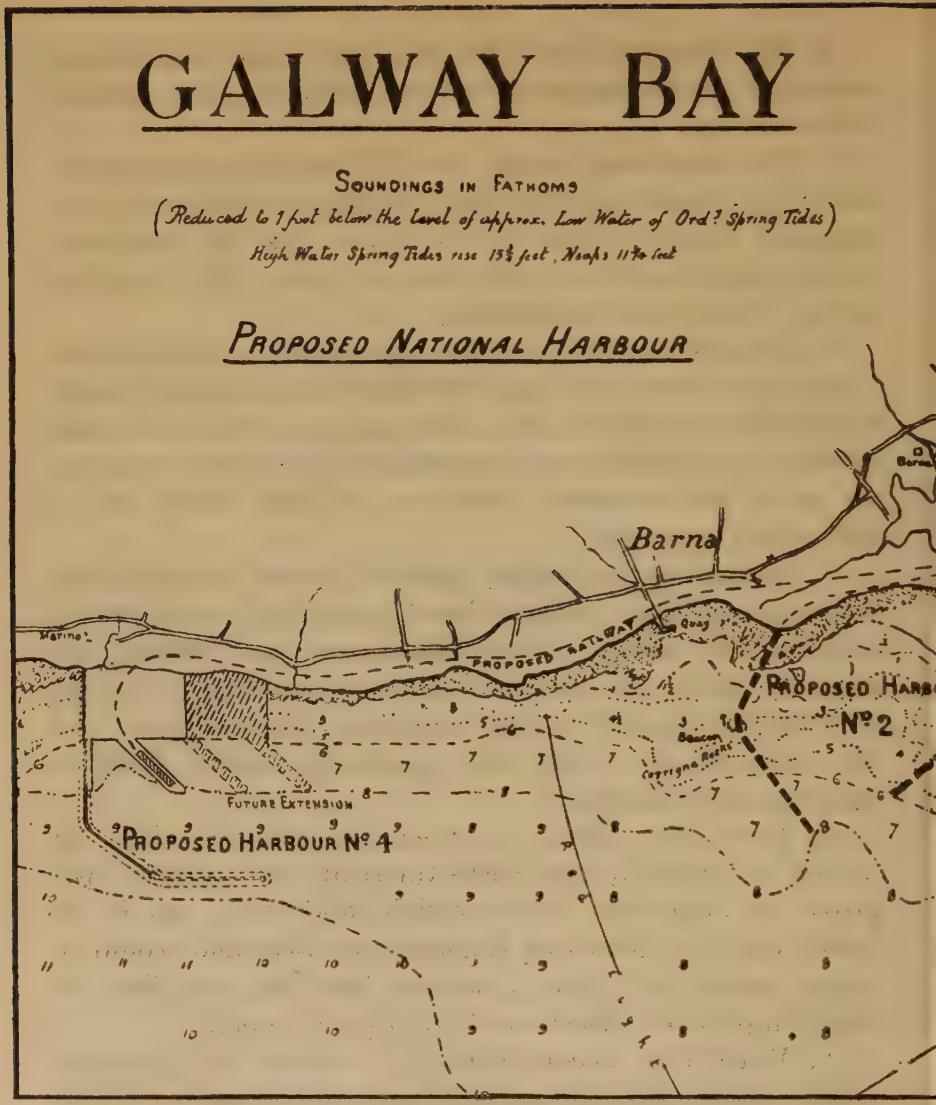
5. The shortening of the time in transit by the formation of a western port and the resulting economies are the principal reasons that can be given for the proposed development from the traffic point of view. The question is, can these be substantiated.

6. Experience proves that mails and passengers will follow the fastest and most effective routes. Slow vessels will continue to follow the existing routes ; but if an Irish service is established and maintained as a premier service for speed and comfort, there can be little doubt that it will prove successful.

7. Ireland is the landing place of several transatlantic submarine cables. Ireland has been a leading station for wireless telegraphy. Ireland has been the landing and starting place of the first direct transatlantic flights, and Ireland should be the principal " bridge head " for the transatlantic mail and passenger traffic between America and Europe.

8. From the purely commercial point of view the saving of time in the Irish-American mail service will prove an important consideration, and there can be no doubt that the North of England and Scotland would be better served by such a service than by any line via Southampton or other southern English port.

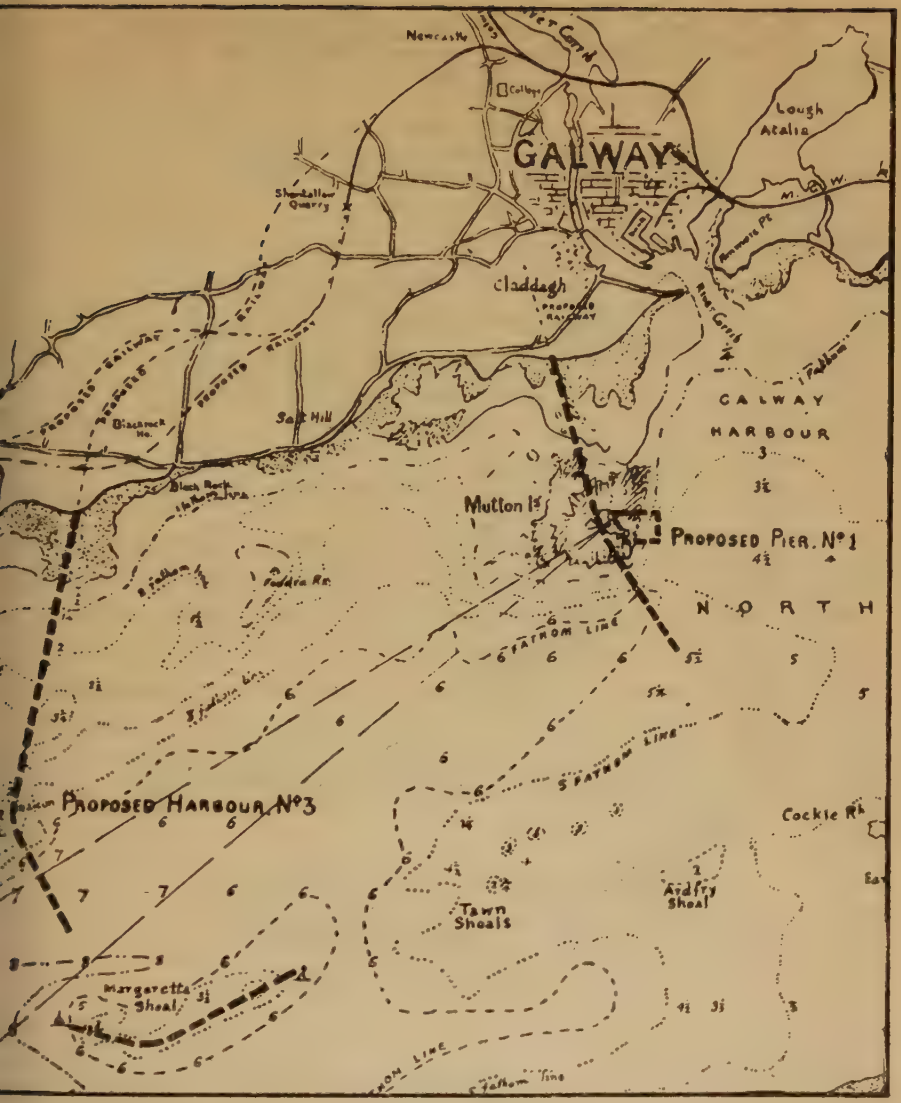
9. With this accomplished, a stream of passenger traffic would pass through Ireland, which could not fail to be beneficial to the country. Although a considerable portion of such traffic would pass directly through the country on its way to England and Europe, yet there can be little doubt that a large and increasing tourist traffic would be developed and fostered. The " Old Home " love would play an important part in such development.


GALWAY BAY
Soundings in Fathoms
(Reduced to 7 feet below the Level of approx. Low Water of Ord? Spring Tides)
High Water Spring Tides rise 15½ feet, Neaps 11½ feet
Proposed National Harbour
Barna
Proposed Railway
Future Extension
Proposed Harbour No 4
Proposed Harb
No 2

PROPOSED SITES F

No. 1. 1852. Proposed by Captains Beechey, R.N., H. Smith, R.N and J. Caffan, R.N., Members of the Committe appointed to inquire into the merits of western harbou of Ireland for the purpose of transatlantic communicatio

No. 2. 1913. Proposed by Mr. Robert Worthington, Dublin.



NSATLANTIC PORT

. 3. 1917. Proposed by Mr. W. N. Binns, B.E., Engineer to the Galway Harbour Commissioners.

. 4. 1928. Proposed by Sir John P. Griffith, M.Inst.C.E., and John W. Griffith, M.Inst.C.E., Dublin.

NATIONAL HARBOUR IN GALWAY BAY

1928

10. The value of tourist traffic to Ireland, if developed on sound lines, can hardly be disputed. Given easy access and facilities for travel and good hotel accommodation, there is no reason why Ireland should not rank amongst the most favoured tourist resorts. Placed on the thoroughfare of American-European traffic in the manner proposed, the necessary access will be afforded.

11. A deep sea fishery harbour might be included in the western port, which, given proper equipment and up-to-date transit facilities, would place our west coast deep sea fisheries in as favourable a position to the English markets as Aberdeen and Grimsby provide for the North Sea fishing fleets.

The large saving by the adoption of a Galway and Halifax service would quickly repay the cost of the necessary harbour works in Galway Bay, and would allow the rates on mails and passengers to be reduced. The time for the transit of mails would be shortened, and with an efficient air service they could reach any British mercantile centre within three or four hours after landing in Galway.

JOHN P. GRIFFITH.

Comments on the Foregoing Article

NO. 1—BY ARTHUR COX, M.A., LL.B.

A Director of Irish Airways Limited

As one of those interested in the formation of the Company named Irish Airways Limited, I have been asked by the Editor of *Studies* to comment on the foregoing article. Irish Airways has been formed with a view to commencing, with the assistance of a government subsidy, a civil aviation service between Ireland and England and also within Ireland. It is obvious that the aeroplane, which is daily carrying more and more of the passenger traffic in Europe and the United States, has its part to play in Irish traffic also. It is to be hoped that an Irish company will lead the way in this, as otherwise the field will rapidly be occupied by foreign enterprise, and another important industry of the future lost to Irish capital and Irish employment.

In the development of either Galway, Cobh, or any other Irish harbour as an Atlantic port the aeroplane will play an essential part.

Life is short but journeys are long, and one of humanity's problems is how to cover the greatest distance in the shortest time. It is curious to reflect that while the world seems to have become too small to afford sufficient room for ambitious empires and increasing populations, the necessity of passing rapidly from one end of it to the other has proportionately increased. Another week or month on the Atlantic would have troubled Drake or Magellan as little as would the sudden shrinkage of America have worried Ferdinand or Isabella.

But nowadays to pass rapidly from one big centre to another means to the business man larger profits and to the tourist in effect longer holidays. The two greatest modern centres of wealth, commerce and population lie in Western Europe and Eastern America, and the shortest and most direct route between these two must necessarily be the most valuable highway in the world.

A glance at the map shows that the line between these centres passes over Ireland. Fast passenger ships crossing the Atlantic can save fully a day by making Ireland their base. The reason that they have hitherto not done so was that the passenger was not going to or coming from Ireland, but from some place further on, either in England or upon the European continent. What he could save in time on the sea he would more than lose in getting to or from his Irish Port. And so the Atlantic liners sailed round Ireland instead of docking in its western harbours as they would otherwise have done, and the grass grew on Galway wharves and our western estuaries were left to seagulls.

This was inevitable in the past, but is no longer so. The aeroplane can bring the traveller to or from London or any European capital in a few hours. It is the speediest, the most comfortable and one of the safest methods of transit yet invented. Every day more and more air lines open up, and every day more and more passengers trust themselves with confidence. To visit Croydon in London, Le Bourget in Paris or the Templerhoferfeld in Berlin and to see the ever growing volume of traffic handled there makes one realise that not merely are the dreams of the sensational novelist of a few years ago already fulfilled, but that in a very short space of time flying will be as common as is motoring to-day.

A properly equipped Irish Atlantic port would imply a saving

of nearly a day on the transatlantic passage. From there an aeroplane service to London and the continent would be a matter of only a few hours. If Ireland will provide the necessary port and air facilities, the various Atlantic passenger lines, ever competing between one another, will not neglect them.

Ireland's geographical position can thus be most usefully developed by the introduction of a fast light passenger and mail service across the Atlantic. From the Irish port the transshipping of mails and passengers presents no difficulty. The modern flying boat or the modern land air liner is capable of economic operation, and the additional cost to the passenger as compared to that of any other method of travel may be expressed as being equal to only five shillings for each hour's travel saved.

It is the hope of the promoters of Irish Airways Limited that in a very short time Irish aeroplanes manned by Irish pilots and under the Irish flag will be plying between Dublin and London. No difficulty whatever would arise in extending this service to Cork or Galway to tap the Atlantic traffic.

Only some such scheme as that outlined by Sir John P. Griffith can bring back Ireland upon the travel map of the world.

ARTHUR COX.

NO. 2—BY THOMAS J. W. KENNY

Editor of the *Connacht Tribune*

IN the autumn of last year the Free State Senate unanimously passed a resolution demanding that the development of Galway as a national harbour should be investigated. The fact that the resolution had the backing of senators from all parts of the country is a clear indication that the old jealousies and rivalries in relation to Galway's claim are dying out, if they are not already dead. This is to the advantage of Ireland as a whole, and removes the last vestige of excuse for a refusal to carry out without delay the Senate's very reasonable demand.

It used to be a somewhat cheap habit with the unthinking to decry Galway's claims as the Micawber-like philosophy of a city and of a people who " could never do anything for themselves." Then the war came—and the heads of the British Admiralty wished to high heaven that their politicians, their writers and their shipping magnates had never condoned so short-sighted a policy. Then, also, those who got to learn something of the feverish activity that was going on behind the scenes in relation

to Galway realised that the British experts knew, and had known all the time, that no harbour in the far-flung Empire offered greater natural facilities, or could afford such safe and secure harbourage in any state of the tide.

The proposal, begun with Roberts's project for a pier at the Mutton Island Lighthouse, developed into Worthington's scheme for an All-Red Route station at Barna, and modified as to cost by an alternative scheme on the Marguerita Reef, now took on a new orientation. The British Admiralty looked beyond Barna to Furbough, and in 1917 proposed to build there a great naval port at a cost of about £7,000,000. The main aim of this scheme was to provide facilities for the transhipment from Canada and the States of men, munitions and supplies.

It was and still is realised that Galway possesses the following advantages :—

(1) A bay safe and sheltered by the natural breakwater of the three Islands of Aran, free from fog throughout the year, easy to navigate day or night in any season.

(2) Deep water close inshore, no rocks and no silt. Eight fathoms of water at the outer tow of the proposed jetty at Furbough, and nothing less than ten fathoms anywhere between that and America.

(3) Liners and battleships of the deepest draught and the greatest length could come up the bay at full speed and come alongside with ease and safety in the minimum of time and for the minimum of expense.

(4) The harbour at Galway is little more than 90 hours' sail in a fast liner from the enclosed and virtually ice-free harbour of Halifax, and the delay and expense of tendering are altogether eliminated on this route.

(5) An existing aerodrome at Oranmore, within six miles of the City, and, better still, the facilities for making an aerodrome contiguous to the harbour at Furbough ; an excellent rail connection through the great central plain of Ireland with Dublin.

It is vain to-day to speculate on what might have been had not the Great War ended as abruptly as it had begun. Saorstat Eireann might at its creation have had the legacy of a great harbour looking towards the West, and there might have been much bargaining as to its occupation.

The position to-day is that the Government of Saorstat Eireann is free to follow the far-seeing policy of the late Arthur Griffith, and to use for the benefit of the nation the facilities that

Galway possesses as the gateway to Europe. These facilities, so apparent in the midst of war in 1917, are more than ever apparent in the battle for the North Atlantic shipping trade which this year of tranquillity, 1929, is witnessing. Moreover, American business-men, who realise that time spent at sea is time lost by the passenger and cash and credit lost in transference of money, script or orders, have been considering the feasibility of the North Atlantic route, whereby they would travel from New York, Chicago and other cities to Halifax by air during the day and by train at night, embark at Halifax for the nearest European port, which is Galway, and travel by air or rail from Galway to their destination. This, in fact, is the scheme to which Col. Fitzmaurice has been attracted : it is the scheme that he believes, after conversations with the leading financial interests in Canada and the United States, to have the greatest chance of immediate success.

That such a proposition is feasible there is no longer any doubt. If any such doubt had existed, Director Stadtlander, of the North German Lloyd Line, has dispelled it. Following the representations of a deputation from Galway Chamber of Commerce, which met on the *Stuttgart* at Cobh Mr. Stadtlander and representatives of the German Transport Ministry on their way to discuss shipping, tourist and other problems with President Coolidge, an undertaking was given that the Lloyd Line would test the Galway Port and, if it was found to be all that was claimed for it, would continue to send their ships there. The *Muenchen* (14,000 tons) arrived in Galway Bay at 6 a.m. on May 12, 1927, and sailed at 9 a.m. with 109 passengers, Captain Wittstein disdaining, because of the safety of the Bay, to utilise the pilot on the outward journey. From that date till August 21, 1927, the Lloyd Line made six sailings to Galway. On one occasion the captain of the liner, having missed the pilot boat, sailed up the Bay and came to anchor near by the lighthouse without his assistance. In 1928 the number of sailings to Galway was trebled : liners (including a Christmas boat with returning emigrants) were sent in all the year round, and the Cunard Co. sent the *Samaria* to the western port.

This year nearly 100 sailings to and from Galway have been arranged. To the liners of the pioneer company, the Lloyd Line, have been added those of the Cunard, the Hamburg-Amerika, the Canadian Pacific and the White Star Line. Connachtmen in America have insisted on entering Ireland by the home port, and tourists have claimed that the best way to visit the less known beauties of our coasts is to disembark at Galway, from which centre all other points of interest radiate.

These developments have taken place with no more than the natural facilities that a beautiful and sheltered Bay affords. Tendering arrangements are so far inadequate, and the inner commercial docks cannot be entered at any state of the tide. (The local project to make the commercial docks available to boats up to 5,000 tons, at any state of the tide, must not be confused with the larger national scheme of an ocean port at Furbough, six miles out.)

These considerations lead one inevitably to the question: Is a national harbour at Galway an economic proposition?

Already fairly convincing evidence is available that it is. The shipping companies are using it to an ever increasing extent. Those who at the beginning came to scoff remained to praise and to imitate the enterprise of the North German Lloyd. Mr. A. B. Cauty, Director of the White Star Line, which had held aloof at the beginning, made a public statement that in the event of developments his company would be prepared to use the port. A director of the Cunard said they "would be prepared to develop a service if Galway develops as a port with sufficient trade. We find that Galway offers good docking facilities, and is a natural port."

Further than this, I understand that a big American financial concern is willing to put up the £2,000,000 required for the construction of the piers and harbour works at Furbough, provided the Government guarantees the interest on the capital sum during the construction period.

Space forbids a discussion of the question of making Galway a "free port," but enough has been said by Sir John Purser Griffith to indicate that the question of establishing a national harbour on the west coast is a very real and immediate one for the Ireland of to-day and for those who have the responsibility of the control of its national destinies. It would seem obvious, however, that if a couple of millions are to be expended on a national harbour at Galway, *an Air Port must be set up in the immediate vicinity of the harbour.*

Finally, such a harbour at Galway would give Ireland as a whole an outlook for which she has long craved, would yield us cheaper foodstuffs and other necessities by direct import, and would thus reduce the cost of living; would afford us a new outlet for developing our exports and reducing the national debt, and would assuredly develop a coastal distributing trade along the west coast of Ireland.

T. J. W. Kenny.

EARLY IRISH EMIGRATION TO THE WEST INDIES (1612–1643)

BY AUBREY GWYNN, S.J., M.A.

IN a chapter which he has recently contributed to the first volume of the *Cambridge History of the British Empire* (1929), Professor A. P. Newton remarks that " the influence of Irish experience in English colonial history deserves study." Many of the leaders in English colonial enterprise overseas—Walter Raleigh, Humphrey Gilbert, Christopher Carleil, Thomas Stukely, John Smith, to name the most prominent—had first-hand experience of the methods used by the English settlers in Ireland; and many of the terms which are so familiar to students of the Irish State Papers—" adventurer," " plantation," " the Native Irish," and the like—are the very terms which meet us everywhere in the study of English colonial history. It was Ireland's fate to be the *corpus vile* on which the " gentlemen-adventurers " of Elizabethan England made their first experiments in imperial colonisation.

But Ireland's share in these adventures was not wholly passive. The Calendar of English State Papers (Colonial Series) for the seventeenth century contains a mass of unworked material which shows that Irishmen must have crossed the Atlantic during this period in numbers far larger than is generally known to students of Irish history; and the evidence of these English State Papers is confirmed by the mass of documentary evidence —drawn mainly from American parish and county records, shipping statistics, military rolls and the like—which we owe to the diligent labour of Mr. Michael J. O'Brien, for the past fifteen years official Historiographer of the American Irish Historical Society. To these two main sources of information must be added a third class of

documents, which are especially valuable for the earliest period of pioneer colonisation: the diaries, letters and other personal memoirs of English, French, Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch explorers in the New World. Many of these invaluable records still lie unpublished in the archives of the countries named; but several have been published in the past few years. English scholars in particular, as is but natural, have taken a special interest in the early history of the West Indies, and the documents which they have published throw unexpected light on the early history of Irish emigration.

To begin with Guiana, that "large, rich and beautiful Empire" which Sir Walter Raleigh revealed to the Elizabethan public in 1595. Dr. James A. Williamson has recently made a study of the English colonies founded in Guiana and on the Amazon between 1604 and 1668.[1] Raleigh organised three expeditions in all, but no permanent settlement was effected. In the year 1604 Charles Leigh—"the worthiest young gentleman that ever went to sea"—founded a colony on the Wiapoco River, which was maintained with difficulty for two years, but was finally withdrawn in May, 1606. In 1609 Robert Harcourt, a Catholic recusant and brother of Sir Walter Harcourt, obtained a charter from James I. and led out a colony of ninety-seven men, of whom sixty were landsmen who intended to settle in Guiana. Harcourt returned in the autumn of the same year, leaving his brother Michael in charge of the new colony. His *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* has just been published by Sir C. Alexander Harris for the Hakluyt Society (1928) and is of considerable interest. Bad weather forced Harcourt to land at Crookhaven near Cape Clear on his way home (Nov. 29th, 1609). Harcourt tells us that he had friends at Youghal, "by whom I might provide myself of means to defray my charge, until my return into England." So to Youghal he made his way, and thence to Bristol;

[1] *The English in Guiana and on the Amazon.* (Oxford, 1923).

but he says nothing of any Irish support for his colonising schemes. On his return to England, he found that a certain Robert Campbell had denounced him as a recusant, and had obtained a grant of the benefits of his recusancy. A law suit over some landed property further crippled him, and he was unable to organise the supplies that his colony needed. His brother Michael seems to have returned home with the English settlers who had remained with him, apparently for three years; and the field was open for a new adventurer.

The next attempt at a settlement is of much the same character. Sir Thomas Roe, a native of Essex, and a friend of Raleigh, probably owed his interest in Guiana to Raleigh's enthusiasm. In 1609 (when he was only twenty-eight years of age) he made preparations for an extensive exploration of the Guiana coast, and sailed from Dartmouth on 24th February, 1610. He was back again in July, 1611, having explored the whole coast from the Amazon to Trinidad. All that we know of his voyage suggests that it was purely a voyage of discovery, but there may have been a settlement. After his return Roe dispatched two more expeditions to Guiana, though he himself remained at home. In 1615 his departure on an embassy to the great Mogul at Agra finally severed his connections with Guiana.

It is apparently to one of these expeditions organised by Sir Thomas Roe between 1610 and 1614, that we must attribute the foundation of what seems to have been the first Irish settlement in the New World. Our information comes from two separate sources, and their connection is not certain. We learn from Captain John Smith's *True Travels, Adventures and Observations* [1] that Captain Roger North, who had served with Smith in Virginia, sailed from Plymouth for the Amazon in April, 1620. "Some hundred leagues they ran up the river to settle his men, where the sight of the Countrey and

[1] I quote from the new edition by Arber and Bradley (Edinburgh, 1910).

people so contented them, that never men thought themselves more happy. Some *English* and *Irish* that had lived there some eight years, only supplied by the *Dutch*, he reduced to his company, and to leave the *Dutch*."

There is nothing here to connect these English and Irish settlers, who must have reached the Amazon in 1612 or thereabouts, with the name of Sir Thomas Roe. But Dr. Williamson has drawn attention to a Spanish deposition, made in 1631 by a certain Gaspar Chillan, who is described as an Irishman. According to this deposition an English corsair, named Don Thomas Rodriguez (in another version Don Thomas Ro), went to the Amazon in 1622 with five ships. Being short of supplies, he put ashore all the Irishmen he had with him, promising to relieve them. This he never did; but the Irish gained the goodwill of the natives, built a fort, succeeded in repelling an attempted Dutch settlement, and maintained themselves as an Irish colony until the year 1625, when they were destroyed by the Portuguese.

Dr. Williamson has pointed out certain details that are open to suspicion in this deposition: in particular it is plainly worded so as to gain the favour of the Spanish authorities, with whom Gaspar Chillan was negotiating in 1631. Of Gaspar Chillan himself nothing further is known. Dr. Williamson suggests Dillon or (oddly enough) O'Brien as possible forms of his true name; but Spanish spelling of Irish (and English) names is so wild that there is little use in guessing. Collins (O'Coilean) is perhaps more probable. Don Thomas Rodriguz (or Ro) is even more puzzling. An obvious guess identifies him with Sir Thomas Roe; but, if that be so, Gaspar Chillan's date must be wrong. Dr. Williamson suggests that 1622 may be a mistake for 1612, which would fit the known facts of Roe's career, except that he himself was not present on the expedition which he seems to have organised in that year. Mainly owing to the chronological difficulty,

Dr. Williamson decides against this suggested identification, and prefers to consider the settlement of 1622 as distinct from any of Roe's expeditions. This is perhaps the safest course, and we shall see that an Irish settlement in 1622 would be entirely probable. But the coincidence between the two names, Sir Thomas Roe and Don Thomas Rodriguz (Ro), can hardly be accidental. It seems to me more probable that the facts narrated by Gaspar Chillan in 1631 as having happened in 1622, are a confused statement of what really took place some time between 1610 and 1614. Our chief authority for the little we know about Roe's activities—an account written by Edmund Howes in 1614—says of him : " Since which time (1611) he hath twice sent thither to make farther discoveries, and maintained twenty men in the River of Amazones, for the good of his Countrey, who are yet remaining there, and supplied." This does not necessarily exclude Gaspar Chillan's version of the Irish who were left somewhere on the Amazon, and not supplied. But our information is too scanty for any further conclusions.

Even if we accept the identification of Gaspar Chillan's Irish colony with one or other of Roe's expeditions, there remains the colony of English and Irish whom North found living with the Dutch in 1620. Is this another glimpse of the same settlement ? Again the identification is tempting ; but by good luck we have a French sailor's account of the settlements along the Amazon, written in 1623, which warns us against undue simplification of the problem.[1] According to this journal, which is now among the Sloane MSS. in the British Museum, there was a mixed settlement of English and Irish at Supanapoco, a place on the northern extremity of the island now known as Ilha de Porcos. Nearly opposite this, on the left bank of the Amazon, was an Irish settlement at Tauregue : " Tauregue habitacion des Hirlandais."

[1] Williamson, *op. cit.*

Further up the river was Tilletille, "habitacion des Anglais"; and five leagues further inland was Warmeonaka, "ou les Anglais avoient force champs pour planter le Toubac." A *Description and History of the Amazon*, written by Colonel Scott under the Restoration and quoted by Dr. Williamson, speaks of "a plantation of English" at the mouth of the Ginipape, still further up the river, which existed in 1622, but was later destroyed by the Portuguese. The Dutch settlements are referred to in Portuguese accounts. They seem mainly to have been on the right bank of the Amazon, and on the large island now known as Ilha Grande de Gurupa, but which seems to have been known to the early settlers as Tocujos. Finally, there was an Anglo-Dutch colony, founded by Peter Adriaansen of Flushing in 1616, still further inland.

Which of these many settlements is the mixed colony found by Captain Roger North in 1620? That is a problem which must remain unsolved, though Dr. Williamson, ignoring North's mention of Irish settlers, thinks the settlement at the mouth of the Ginipape to be the most likely. Anyhow, it matters little, for the Portuguese urged on by the Spanish court, made up their minds that these European neighbours were a danger to their own settlement at Pará on the mouth of the Amazon. In 1623 an expedition was organised which destroyed most of the Dutch settlements and the English colony on the Ginipape. But the West India Company did not readily accept defeat. In 1625 a new colony of 200 Dutch and Irish colonists was sent out under the command of Nicholas Hofdan (or Oudaen) and Philip Purcell, an Irishman. These established themselves on the Gurupa, to the south of Tocujos, and other English and Irish settlers were thrown into the island itself. The Portuguese advanced from Pará, and at the end of the campaign several Anglo-Irish settlements had been taken, including the settlement mentioned by Gaspar Chillan

in 1631. Here, according to Chillan, seventy Irish surrendered without resistance—out of friendship to the Spaniards, so he implies. The truth of his statement is open to doubt, but the fact of a surrender seems to be certain.

One of the prisoners taken by the Portuguese in this campaign was James Purcell, brother of Philip Purcell. According to the narrative of a Portuguese Jesuit, Luis Figueira, Purcell and some of his friends were taken to Pará, and thence were allowed to sail for Europe. Leaving Pará in June, 1627, they sailed for Spain, and then on " to their own country". Perhaps England is meant, for they now enter into the service of a company of merchants. A new " Guiana Company " had just been founded by Roger North and Robert Harcourt, under a grant of Charles I. (1627); and it seems this was the company that fitted out Purcell and his friends " with ships, arms and supplies, and sent them out to the Amazon to plant tobacco." So at least we gather from John Smith's *True Travels*. Writing in 1629, he says: " Whereupon they (North and Harcourt) have sent this present year in January, and since 1628, four ships with near two hundred persons; the first ship with 112 men, not one miscarried; the rest went since, not yet heard of, and are preparing another with their best expedition. And since January is gone from Holland 100 English and Irish, conducted by the old Planters." The last sentence presumably refers, among others, to Purcell and his friends. Smith's narrative does not make it certain that this Dutch-Irish expedition was financed by the Guiana Company, but the fact seems probable enough.

Once back on the Amazon, so we learn from Figueira, the Irishmen settled on " Tocujos " in April, 1628. Here they built a fort, planted tobacco and began to trade with the Indians. According to another Portuguese account the fort was at Torrego, which would seem to

be identical with the "Tauregue, habitacion des Hirlandais" of 1623. Tocujos is a name of vague meaning, used sometimes for the island (so Dr. Williamson tells us), but which "it is safer to regard as the name of a region rather than as that of a single geographical unit." Here they were attacked by the Portuguese in June, 1629. A first assault having failed, the Portuguese began a siege which lasted for a month (Sept. 26—Oct. 24, 1629). At the end of the month Purcell surrendered on favourable terms: the lives of the garrison were spared, and they were free to return to their own country with all their goods. Shortly after the surrender, an English party arrived with two ships, a pinnace and some shallops. They had been preceded by another party under Robert Harcourt, which was plainly designed as a relief force. But Harcourt had disobeyed orders, and sailed past the Amazon to the Wiapoco, thus abandoning Purcell to his fate. When the second party arrived in October, 1629, they were too late, and could do no more than make a demonstration of landing at the captured fort. They then drew off, and established themselves a little lower down the river. But the loss of Torrego (or Tocujos) in 1629 seems to have proved a fatal blow, from which the Guiana Company never recovered. The new colony on the Wiapoco lingered on for a couple of years, but was finally abandoned. Harcourt himself died in Guiana, apparently in 1631.

Two or three other instances of Irish activity on the Amazon remain to be recorded. In 1631 Gaspar Chillan made his deposition, which we have so often quoted, before the Spanish authorities in Spain. His purpose was to obtain leave for a new Irish settlement, to act as a barrier to English Protestant enterprise. His petition was rejected by the Council of the Indies, on the ground that English and Dutch Catholics were to be included in the enterprise. Four years later (1635) we find the moribund Guiana Company petitioning the

English Government to restrain another Irishman, William Gayner, from making a voyage to the Amazon with Dutch associates. Gayner was a Catholic, who had served on the Amazon under Captain North. Again four years later (1639), we hear of an agreement between England and Spain that a force of Irishmen should be sent in eighteen ships to turn the Dutch out of Pernambuco. In return for this assistance, Spain was to help the English expel the French from St. Christopher's and plant Irish in their place. Nothing came of the plan, but its significance will be plain when we compare it with what we know of the Irish settlements in the West Indies. Finally in 1643 another Irish Catholic, Peter Sweetman (his name is spelt Sotman, Setmen and Suetman in the Portuguese documents), came forward with a suggestion of the same kind. Portugal had just revolted from Spain, and the English Civil War had led to trouble between the English and Irish on St. Christopher's. He proposed to plant 400 of these Irish on the Amazon delta, and got a grant to this effect from King John IV. of Portugal. Whether anything came of this grant is not known ; but we shall hear more of the trouble between English and Irish on St. Christopher's in 1643.

After Guiana, Virginia. Here again Raleigh was a pioneer in the sixteenth century, though the English did not get a permanent footing until 1606. For the next ten years the outstanding figure is Captain John Smith, one of the pioneer settlers. His *Generall Historie of New England, Virginia and the Summer Isles*, supplemented by his other writings, is a main source of our knowledge for the early years of the settlement. These early years were a time of sore stress and trial. More than once it seemed that the new colony must be abandoned, but a new era opens with the arrival of Sir George Yeardley as Governor in 1619. In that year, so Smith tells us, " there went by the Company's records, eleven ships and 1,216 persons, to be thus disposed on : Tenants

for the Governor's land fourscore, besides fifty sent the former spring; for the Company's land a hundred and thirty, for the College a hundred, for the Glebe land fifty, young women to make wives ninety, servants for public service fifty, and fifty more whose labours were to bring up thirty of the infidel's children: the rest were sent to private Plantations."

This list shows that three classes of persons were already distinguishable in the colony of Virginia: land-owners, who were usually shareholders in the Company's adventure; tenants, who were allotted to various plantations; and indentured "servants" who went out—either voluntarily or compulsorily—to serve for a time (usually three or five years for men and women, seven years for boys and girls), at the end of which time they were set free from their indentures, and were given either a plot of land or a sum of money to start them in life as citizens of the colony.[1] During the next two years new settlers went out in large numbers, and on "the 22nd of November (1621)," so we read in Smith's *Historie*, "arrived Master *Gookin* out of *Ireland*, with fifty men of his own, and thirty Passengers, exceedingly well furnished with all sorts of provision and cattle, and planted himself at *Newport-newes*: the Cotton trees in a year grew so thick as one's arm, and so high as a man: here anything that is planted doth prosper so well as in no place better."

Gookin is known to us from several sources. A brother of the Sir Vincent Gookin, whose pamphlet on Irish affairs, addressed to Wentworth in 1634, led to the author's sudden flight from Ireland, Daniel Gookin was an English planter, who held a castle and lands at Carrigaline, Co. Cork. His arrival in Virginia was well timed, for the colony was beginning to prosper under Yeardley's able government. Smith's account would seem to imply

[1] For fuller details see Bruce: *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*. (Macmillan, New York 1896).

that he made his money in cotton, but the *Abstracts from the Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London* show that he had large interests in the cattle trade, at that time a main source of Irish revenue and a vital necessity for the young colony. Gookin secured a special charter, by which he was able to barter at his own prices, regardless of the rates fixed by the Company. On receipt of the news that his first cargo had arrived safely, the Company wrote to him offering one hundred pounds of tobacco for every head of cattle he, or any other person, should import into the colony. Next year several Irish gentlemen offered cattle for sale, and were given an even higher price. Gookin may thus be considered the founder of that flourishing trade in cattle between Ireland and the West Indies, which was still an important factor in the Restoration period.[1]

Gookin's career in Virginia was short, but eventful. In the spring of 1622 there was a famous massacre of the Virginian settlers by the Red Indians. Smith gives a long account of the slaughter: in all 347 persons, men and women, were slain. Many of the plantations were wiped out, and an order was made that those outlying settlements which had not been destroyed should be evacuated, the remaining inhabitants being concentrated " to make good five or six places, where all their labours now for the most part must redound to the Lords of those Lands where they were resident. Now for want of Boats, it was impossible upon such a sudden to bring also their cattle, and many other things, which with much time, charge and labour they had then in possession with them ; all which for the most part at their departure was burnt, ruined and destroyed by the Salvages. Only Master *Gookins* at *Newports-newes* would not obey the Commander's command in that, though he had scarce five and thirty of all sorts with him, yet he thought himself sufficient against what could happen, and so did

[1] Bruce, *op. cit.*, vol. I., p. 246-9.

to his great credit and the content of his Adventurers." In the summer of that same year he was back again in Ireland, and next year we hear of a ship, the *Providence*, which reached Virginia in April, "sent by Mr. Gookin, with forty men, besides thirty passengers."[1] Whether Gookin himself ever returned to Virginia, I do not know; but his son acted as his agent there in February, 1630. This son, Captain Daniel Gookin, had an interesting career in the New World.[2] First an agent on his father's estate, he soon acquired property of his own in Virginia. But in 1643 he was converted to Puritanism by the preaching of a Puritan missionary named Thompson, and left Virginia for New England. Here he soon became a prominent citizen, was for many years representative in the assembly, and was prominent in the days of colonial expansion under Cromwell. He was in England for a time under the Protectorate, but returned to New England after the Restoration. Here he was appointed superintendent of the Indians who had submitted to the government of Massachusetts, an office which he held until his death in 1687. It was as superintendent of the Indians that he made a famous stand for justice and mercy at the time of the Red Indian rising of 1676, known as "King Philip's War". Irishmen were prominent as soldiers in that war, and Dublin sent out a relief-ship to Massachusetts after the massacre which is still remembered as "the Irish Bounty."[3] But Daniel Gookin played a nobler part. His defence of the Red Indians was so courageous that for several weeks he could not walk the streets of Boston without risk of public insult from an indignant Puritan crowd.

Apart from Gookin's adventure in 1621-23, there is another record of Irish emigration to Virginia which is

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[1] *State Papers, Colonial Series* (1574-1660), p. 42-3. [2] See *Dict. Nat. Biogr.* s. v. Gookin.

[3] See an account by M. J. O'Brien in *Journal of the American Irish Hist Soc.* vol. xii., p. 184.

significant of coming tragedies. Chichester's plans for the re-plantation of Wexford had borne bitter fruit in the years preceding 1620. In a last desperate attempt to obtain justice some two hundred dispossessed landholders came to Dublin and urged their claims in person. They were thrown into prison for their pains, and some of them at least were finally shipped to Virginia. So we learn from a letter written by Deputy St. John to the Lords of the Privy Council on December 8th, 1620,[1] in which he "acknowledges with thanks their Lordships' proceedings in restraining some of them to send to Virginia," and "prays their Lordships, if any more of them trouble the King or their Lordships, to send them after their countrymen." The same advice was given by the author of *Advertisements for Ireland*, an anonymous description of the state of Ireland in 1623, which Prof. George O'Brien published six years ago[2]: it was most probably written by Sir Henry Bourgchier, an Anglo-Irish politician of the period. The passage is so characteristic of seventeenth century statesmanship that it had better be quoted at some length:

"They that prove to be gentry amongst the mere Irish, of which there be a great number, though they have not sixpence to live on, they disdain to follow any trade, but only some turn footboys and should be compelled to serve: for now they press to other men's houses of their acquaintance or alliance, and there spend their days idle to the excessive charge of housekeepers, who there perpetually be pestered with such guests. The inveterate customs and their abuse have strengthened this for a law of hospitality amongst them. This kind of rabble, and many others of the mere Irish, that sometimes were rebels within this twenty years since the peace began, have been multiplied to an incredible number

[1] *Calendar of State Papers (Ireland)*, (1615-1625), p. 306.

[2] Extra volume published by the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland (1923), p. 43.

far more than here (England); because they generally (be they never so poor) affect to marry timely, or else keep one unmarried and cohabit with her as their reputed wife . . . . And therefore it may well be feared that so great a multitude of beggars do not break forth to some sudden mischief (which the Lord defend). And many of these should be employed in public works, whereof daily occasion is there sufficiently ministered, and will be more every day, as be the repairing of highways, building of bridges, town walls, churches, fortifications and the like; and if Virginia or some other of the newly discovered lands in the West were filled with them, it could not but serve and raise the country much, and relieve and advance them withal."

How far this advice was actually put into practice, we do not know. But it is significant that, just about this time, the *Abstracts from the Proceedings of the Virginia Company* show the London authorities anxious to discharge upon Virginia large numbers of the unemployed who were "chargeable, dangerous and troublesome" to the State.[1] In 1620, for example, a committee was appointed to obtain from the justices of the peace in the various shires of the kingdom, youths of fifteen years and upwards who were a charge upon the parishes. A hundred such young boys had been sent out from London in the spring of 1619 with Sir George Yeardley; and in 1621 the estimated cost of transport for fifty boys was found to be ten pounds a boy. During the next two or three years there is frequent mention of such schemes, and a census-list of the servants in Virginia for the year 1624-25 shows that the average age of these servants was between twenty and twenty-six. How many were Irish? We do not know. But Mr. Michael J. O'Brien has published an extract from the County Records of Virginia between the years 1635 and 1660, in which he has noted all Irish and probably Irish names of men to whom grants

[1] Bruce, *op. cit.*, I., p. 593 foll.

of land were made during that period.[1] Allowing for the uncertain nature of this evidence, there are still some 300 names on his list. These are the Irishmen who made good during that quarter of a century. Who shall reckon the probable number of those who went out as indentured servants or poor tenants, and died in poverty ?

Three years after Gookin's arrival in Virginia, at a time when the Irish settlements on the Amazon were still flourishing, the occupation of St. Christopher's by Captain Thomas Warner threw open a new field to English (and Irish) activity. Warner had served under Captain North in Guiana during the expedition of 1620, but had returned to England " to be free from the disorders that did grow in the Amazon for want of government amongst their Countrymen, and to be quiet amongst themselves." In England they " made means to set themselves out for St. Christopher's," where Warner landed with fifteen men in January, 1624. So we learn from Smith's *True Travels*. A more detailed account by John Hilton, written in 1675 and published by Mr. N. T. Harlow,[2] tells us that Warner, " having made a trading voyage for the Amazons, at his return came by the Caribbee Islands, where he became acquainted with several Indian Kings inhabiting these islands, amongst the rest with one, King Tegremen, King of St. Christopher's." Warner viewed the island, and " thought it would be a very convenient place for the planting of tobaccoes, which ever was a rich commodity." And that was the origin of the expedition of 1624.

Warner returned home in 1625, and obtained a charter for the " custody " of the islands of St. Christopher's, Nevis, Barbados and Montserrat. The names of these islands and others of the group now known as the Leeward Islands, frequently occur in the State Papers of this period, but they were not all settled immediately. Bar-

[1] *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society*, Vol. xiii., p. 209-213.

[2] *Colonising Expeditions to the West Indies and Guiana* (Hakluyt Society, 1925).

bados was settled independently by John Powell in 1625, and Warner was never actually Governor of the island. Nevis was settled in 1628, and Montserrat (most probably) in 1634. Both were settled from St. Christopher's, and for the next twenty years "St. Kitts," not Barbados, is the most important English settlement in the West Indies. Its failure to maintain this position was due to the fact that in 1625, a year after Warner's arrival, the French effected a landing "in the other end of the Isle," and were not to be dislodged for more than a century.

Nevis was founded by Anthony Hilton in 1628. His story, as told by John Hilton, apparently a son or nephew, is as follows :[1]

"There was a certain young man, named Anthony Hilton, born and brought up in the Bishopric of Durham, who being employed by the merchants of Bastaple in the west countrey for a voyage to Virginia, passing by St. Christopher's, as they knew no other way, came ashore and waited on the Governor, Captain Tho. Warner, and other gentlemen. And so proceeding on his voyage to Virginia, made his voyage, and so returning for England, put ashore in Ireland. And (he) had some discourse with one Captain Wallett and other gentlemen of Ireland, who finding by the discourse of the said Hilton, that it might prove profitable for them to settle a plantation at St. Christopher's to make tobaccoes, which the said Hilton thought to be a better place than Virginia, were desirous the said Hilton would undertake the voyage for them, which as it seems he consented to. And he returning for Bastaple, gave up his Accompts of the voyage, and discharged himself of his employ. And so returning for Ireland again, he was accordingly set forth by those gentlemen with ship and men, and all things necessary for the voyage. So by God's goodness (he) arrived at St. Christopher's, and with license from Capt.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 4.

Warner he did settle upon the windward side of the Island, being the first that did settle on that side of the Island."

The exact date of this settlement is not given, but it ended in disaster. Hilton and his associates "cleared ground, built houses and followed planting," but "it came to pass that the Indians betimes in the morning came upon them, and did fire their houses and slew divers of his men." Hilton with the rest "making their escape into the woods, got to the leeward to the rest of the English, where he did settle another plantation, and with the company he had made what plantations he could. And with that tobacco made his return for Ireland, and from thence to England, being accompanied with some gentlemen planters of St. Christopher's to their desired port, London." It was after this first experiment that Hilton organised his expedition to Nevis, which he reached on July 22, 1628. But as this expedition was organised from London, it need not detain us.

Five or six years later we get our first glimpse of what was to prove the most distinctively Irish settlement in the New World, the Irish Catholic colony of Monsterrat, founded in or about the year 1634. But that is a story that must be reserved for a further article.

AUBREY GWYNN.

THE GORDON BENNETTS AND AMERICAN JOURNALISM

BY FRANCIS MCCULLAGH.

The James Gordon Bennetts. By Don C. Seitz. (Indianapolis : The Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1928. Pp. 405. $5.)

AN examination of American journalism during the last hundred years is not only a matter of concern for Americans ; it is a matter of concern for everybody, and particularly for Irishmen, as American journalism, besides playing a great part in the history and development of the United States, has exercised a most powerful influence all over the world, and especially in Ireland. I do not know how it is now, but forty years ago the Irish in America sent many copies of American newspapers to their relatives in the Old Country, and the first foreign newspapers I ever saw myself were not British but American. Moreover, such a very large proportion of the reporters and the editorial staff of the American newspapers were, and are, Irish, that an Irish Quarterly need not apologize to its readers for considering at some length the rise of the American Press, in order that young Irishmen who are desirous of following in the footsteps of MacGahan, John Boyle O'Reilly, Joseph I. C. Clarke, James Clancy, John T. Burke, and so many other countrymen of theirs who earned fame or money or both as American newspapermen, may be able to judge for themselves if the career of a journalist in America would suit them better than any other.

But the question of American journalism is broader than this, for, as I have just pointed out, it affects the whole world. The British Press has consistently gibed at American journalism, but has at the same time followed

slavishly in its track. The slang of Manhattan newspapers is to-day regarded with contempt in Fleet Street, but to-morrow, when that slang is already out-of-date in America, you will find it on the lips of British Premiers and Oxford Professors. An examination of the speeches delivered during the last election campaign in England shows the enormous amount of American newspaper slang which has found its way across the Atlantic, Mr. Baldwin being nearly as fond of it as Mr. Lloyd George. What is more important, the British newspapers are coming to look more and more like American newspapers. One of the two most widely circulated dailies in London is edited on American lines by a former *Herald* man who has become a British subject. *Le Matin*, one of the largest newspapers in Paris, was founded by another *Herald* man, and in Paris at the present moment there are three prosperous American dailies published in the English language. The Canadian newspapers, even those published in French, are indistinguishable at first glance from the New York papers; and the influence of the American Press on all Latin America as well as on "the Britains beyond the Seas" and even on Japan and China has only been surpassed by that of the American cinema films which came later.

In summing up America's services to the human race, the future historian will have to mention American journalism and American cinema films, though I sincerely hope that he will be able to mention more. Through its journalism and its films, however, the United States has sent two waves of Americanism all over the globe, as northern France, or whatever northern country is responsible for Gothic architecture, sent one wave of a very different kind over the circumscribed Christian world of the thirteenth century. The New York *Herald* occupies somewhat the same position with regard to the journalistic wave as the cathedral of Chartres occupies with regard to the Gothic wave; but the cathedral of Chartres still

stands, whereas the *Herald* has disappeared. Another difference is that the *Herald* and its founders and scribes never lost an opportunity of advertising themselves, whereas the architects and sculptors of Chartres are unknown: *ils gardaient l'anonyme.* One thing we know about them, however, and about their assistants: they all regarded with such reverence the work on which they were engaged that they never put a hand to it unless when in the state of grace, and any worker who neglected to frequent the sacraments was expelled as unworthy. I never heard that the same principle was ever applied in the case of the *Herald* staff; but nevertheless a study of this great journalistic force in its place of origin is obviously desirable in a periodical which tries to neglect no manifestation of human energy: and I do not think that such a study could take a better or more interesting shape than that of a review of the book whose title appears at the head of this article.

James Gordon Bennett the elder was born in 1795, and James Gordon Bennett the younger died in 1918, so that the lives of these two men covered a period of time almost as great as that covered by the life of the United States themselves. Between them, the two Bennetts ruled the *Herald* for eighty-three years: there has never been so long a journalistic dynasty in the New World. The expansion of American journalism during these eighty-three years was as great as the expansion of America in other directions, especially in wealth, in population, and in ways of communication; and with the journalistic expansion the Bennetts, especially Bennett *père*, had a great deal to do. He was first in the field; and if Pulitzer and Hearst afterwards became formidable rivals of his, it was he, after all, who taught them their trade.

Carlyle would have said that the elder Bennett created American journalism, and Tolstoy would have maintained that, like Napoleon, Bennett was created by great

events over which he had no control; and in my opinion the latter view would have been nearer the truth than the former, for though sundry great newspaper owners did much for the expansion of the American Press during the last hundred years, the general growth of the country did far more. With the tremendous developments that took place in oil, steel, and railroads, there was bound to be a corresponding development in journalism; and to realise how great the journalistic development was, one has only got to study the condition of American journalism when the elder Bennett first entered it. In the year 1835 Bennett considered himself lucky if he took in a few hundred dollars a week. To-day the *Chicago Tribune* makes a net yearly profit of about £1,000,000, while the Hearst papers and magazines make $30,000,000 annually. Towards the end of 1835 Bennett wrote :—

> Heretofore I have done everything myself. I have written my own police reports, I have written my own squibs, crackers, and *jeu* (sic) *d'esprit*, I have been my own clerk and accountant, posted my own books, made out my own bills and generally attended to all business details in the office.

The owners of the great American newspapers are in a different position to-day, but the whole attitude of the American public towards the Press is equally different, so different that it is hard to realise sometimes that it is the same people. The New York of 1835 was extraordinarily like an English provincial town of 1835. It even had its " upper class " of well-to-do, snobbish people who talked of their ancestors and really disliked publicity. Once, at a public dinner, a sub-editor of Bennett's tried to take notes of the speeches; but, being detected, he was ignominiously ejected by his incensed host and by the other guests. What a difference now, when the itch for publicity has become a veritable mania, and when the greatest punishment that a newspaper can inflict is to bar a man's name from its columns! One might say

that the race which inhabits New York *is* different, but the change has been equally great in England, where ex-Cabinet Ministers and ex-Generals crowd the antechambers of editors, and where the highly respectable mothers of *débutantes* pay for the insertion of their daughters' photographs in the newspapers, besides wining and dining "social" reporters of both sexes in order that they may write nicely about the young ladies.

On another occasion a judge in Massachussetts perceived, to his horror, that a *Herald* reporter was in court with a notebook during a murder trial. He at once expelled the reporter, and not only gave orders that he should never be allowed to enter again, but prevented any news of the case being sent outside the frontiers of the sovereign State of Massachussetts. The clergy were equally furious when Bennett began to print timid notes about their sermons and their church services, but in the end they not only tolerated this, but even paid for the insertion of church notices.

From this it will be seen how Bennett innovated. He attracted attention to himself at first by invading "the sanctity of private life," as people used to say in those days; then he paid particular attention to printing news before any other paper. This habit increased his circulation and the number of his advertisements, and brought him more news. Living as he did in a community which was rapidly increasing in prosperity and importance, and being himself industrious, frugal, level-headed, enterprising, and keenly interested in the life that went on around him, he soon became a very successful man. His enemies attributed his success entirely to the sensational and scurrilous nature of his paper, and proclaimed against him a boycott which resulted in a long-continued social ostracism; but though at first he probably was scurrilous, sensational and personal, he was always an extremely good journalist as well, and most of the attacks on him were due to jealousy. The excellence of his

judgment in matters journalistic will be seen from the way he hastened, before any of his rivals, to utilise all the inventions for the rapid transmission of news—first, steam locomotion by land and sea, and afterwards the telegraph. Later on, his son followed in the same track by paying particular attention to the development of submarine cables, wireless, motor cars, balloons, and aeroplanes.

By his money articles, his shipping intelligence, and other special features, Bennett Senior made his paper a necessity in every house of business; and, later on, his son added a "real estate" column, paid special attention to weather forecasts, gave very much foreign news, opened his pages to sport, and did other things to make the *Herald* interesting to a larger circle of readers. Meanwhile Pulitzer, Hearst and other rivals, invented other special features. Photography, improved printing presses, colour printing, and other technical developments went hand in hand with comic sections, serial caricatures, a ladies' page, a children's corner and the numerous other features which we find in the American papers to-day, and which have, most of them, been copied more or less by the Press of other countries.

As far back as the time of Edmund Burke, the English Press had become so important that, in words which have become historical, that great Irishman described it as "the Fourth Estate"; but the progress made by the American Press under the two Bennetts and their rivals was so great that, in comparison with it, the English Press seemed niggardly, narrow and mean—at all events till the time of Northcliffe. With all its faults, there is something big about the American newspaper. The cable tolls alone of any one of New York's great dailies constitute a staggering figure; and, curiously enough, victory always seems to crown the editor who pays most in cable tolls. The younger Bennett used the cable so much, on account of his residing constantly in Paris,

that finally he joined with Mr. James Mackay in laying a submarine cable of his own across the bottom of the Atlantic. At the beginning of my connection with him, I once sent him a cable which cost over one thousand pounds sterling; but during the Great War the New York *Times* probably paid that much every day on an average for its European cable service.

The secret of America's success in journalism seems, therefore, to be this: "Spend as much money as possible," but this formula only applies to America, and presupposes a good deal of judgment as well as a good deal of the gambling spirit. During his editorship of the *Herald*, Bennett *fils* drew from that paper and spent on his personal comforts and pleasures the tidy sum of £6,000,000; and his rival Hearst has been equally extravagant. Dazzled by these fantastic sums of money, thousands of the employees of Bennett and Hearst overworked themselves till they found premature rest in poorhouses, asylums and cemeteries, drank themselves to death, and died on battlefields; but on the other hand a considerable number of the canny ones amassed substantial fortunes. Mr. Arthur Brisbane, for example, one of the Hearst editors, draws to-day the comfortable salary of £50,000 a year from the Hearst papers, and probably draws four times as much from his investments in New York City, where he owns a skyscraper and a considerable amount of real estate. I only mention these figures in order to illustrate what I mean when I talk of the "bigness" a European finds in American journalism.

To return to the biography of the Bennetts: the book under review is largely given up to an account of that public life which is almost the only kind of life which an editor has, but, at all events in the case of the elder Bennett, there are occasional glimpses, in the beginning, of a hidden life which was never written about. What an interesting story would be a simple, unadorned, and absolutely truthful biography of Bennett Senior from the

year 1802, when our hero was seven years old, till 1819, when he arrived in the United States at the age of 24! But Mr. Seitz devotes only one page to it, probably because Bennett Senior never threw any light on it himself. This reticence on the part of a great journalist seems inexplicable, for the story had all the elements of popular interest. There was, in the first place, the poor emigrant boy landing in America with only a few shillings in his pocket, and afterwards becoming a rich and influential man in his new country; and at an earlier period there was material for a description of Europe as it appeared to a sharp-witted lad at a time when Napoleon ruled in France. Furthermore, there was rich material in the mental development of that young Scotsman who was born of Roman Catholic parents, who was even intended for the priesthood, and who, before he had reached the age of twenty, had paid a visit to the Continent of Europe in connection with the ecclesiastical studies which his father and mother wanted him to begin.

Behind this bald outline lurks in all probability a story of intense interest, but apparently that story will never be told. Bennett was reticent about his early life, because he found that in the New York City of his time it did not pay to be a Catholic, and that he would never have succeeded as a newpaper owner, if he had let it be known that he was a practical Catholic and had studied, in his youth, for the priesthood. I have already spoken of his ostracism. I might add that it went so far that Mrs. Bennett had to bring her children to Europe owing to the virulent and unfounded attacks which were made by her husband's enemies on her own moral character. I might also add that Bennett Senior was horsewhipped about six times, was once the recipient of an infernal machine, and was once nearly drowned by an enemy. Such being the hatred of his critics, any acknowledgment on his part that he was a believing Catholic would pro-

bably have constituted the last straw, would probably have been used for his successful annihilation.

Bennett lost no time, therefore, in making it clear that, though born a Catholic, he was not an obedient son of the Church. In one article he says :—

> I had not reached the age of eighteen, before the light of nature—the intelligence of the age—the progress of truth and knowledge had broken to pieces all the ridiculous superstitions of the Church of Rome.

Speaking on another occasion of his ancestors, he said :—

> They never abandoned the good old Catholic Church, till I became graceless enough to set up for myself, and slap the Pope and Bishop Dubois right and left. I have had bishops, priests, deacons, robbers, and all sorts of people in my family.

In 1842 he became involved in a verbal duel with Archbishop Hughes, who must, he said :—

> Be blinded to all facts . . . . to all truths . . . . save the dogma and drivellings of the Catholic Church in the last stage of decrepitude.

The Archbishop, a very militant prelate, gave Bennett as good as he got, whereupon the editor lost his temper to such an extent that he advocated " the separation of the Catholic Church in America from the rule of Rome."

All Bennett's career bears out my theory that his anti-Catholicism was only a pretence assumed for strictly business purposes. In the same way and for the same reason, he declared himself anti-English, though a Scot is generally more English than the English themselves, especially a Scot who grew to manhood in Scotland during England's titanic struggle with Napoleon. In writing afterwards about his first visit to Bunker's Hill and the other battlefields of the war of Independence, he said that he felt " the same glow " as he did " on the field of Bannockburn in my more youthful days. It was Liberty and Freedom struggling against pride and tyranny in both cases." This is nonsense, and Bennett

must have had his tongue in his cheek while he was committing it to paper, but for business purposes it was excellent. In America we sometimes find O'Tooles and O'Reillys who, though they have been in the country for three generations, still retain a hereditary hatred of England, but that genuine hatred is nothing to the assumed hatred of the Englishman who has only been a few years in the country and who finds it financially advantageous to repudiate King George.

As Mr. Seitz explains, Bennett Senior aimed at being "intensely American in all his attitudes"; but, as generally happens in such cases of insincerity, he overdid it and became to all appearance ultra-American, anti-British and anti-Catholic, though at the bottom of his heart he was always Catholic and pro-British. This intellectual dishonesty is well illustrated by his attitude towards Daniel O'Connell. One would have thought that, as a Catholic and a lover of liberty, Bennett would have sympathised with this great Irishman, who had won religious freedom for all the Catholics in the British Empire, including the Bennetts of Banffshire; but, on the contrary, he had as little love for O'Connell and for Ireland as any of the English Catholic Peers who, thanks to O'Connell and thanks to Ireland, were enabled to take their seats in the House of Lords exactly one hundred years ago. He had instructed his correspondent in Dublin to attack O'Connell, and his own editorials on the Irish question were hostile "to such an extent," says Mr. Seitz, "as to interfere with the collection of contributions to the cause in America." Nevertheless, when Bennett visited Dublin in 1843, he walked insolently on to the platform of the Corn Exchange while O'Connell was speaking: and, on being told who the distinguished visitor was, O'Connell said: "I wish he would stay where he came from. We don't want him here. He is one of the conductors of one of the vilest gazettes ever published by infamous publishers."

Bennett was never excommunicated, and he never formally left the Church though his faith seems to have become so weak that he ceased to practise his religion. He was married in a Catholic church to an Irish Catholic lady born in Ireland; and he had his children all baptized as Catholics. He seems to have died without the last sacraments; but as he had never actually become a Protestant and was, after all, a distinguished citizen, there was some talk of holding a funeral service in St. Patrick's Cathedral. This proposal, however, was dropped, and a private service was held instead in his own house on Fifth Avenue, under the direction of the Rev. Dr. Starrs, Vicar-General. Curiously enough, the body was afterwards interred in Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn, which, from the Catholic point of view, is not consecrated ground. The *Herald* carried no account of the obsequies and gave no biography of its own, though it republished several biographies printed by other papers.

Bennett the Younger

While on the question of religion, I might deal here with that of Bennett the Younger. This gentleman was baptized a Catholic, but does not seem to have ever been in a Catholic church or to have been brought up as a Catholic. When at the mature age of 73 he decided to marry a Protestant lady, he discovered that he was nominally a Catholic; whereupon he sent for an Episcopalian minister to receive him into the Protestant fold, and he was married next day in an Episcopalian church. But this "conversion" was merely a matter of convenience, without anything of the spiritual in it; and for the three remaining years of his life Bennett troubled Protestant churches as little as he had previously troubled Catholic churches. In fact the only record of his ever having been to any church is to be found in the account of his funeral, on which occasion a requiem service was

held in the Trinity Episcopalian church, Paris. He was afterwards buried in the famous Passy cemetery, which, though Catholic, contains the bones of celebrities belonging to other religions, one of those celebrities being Marie Bashkirtseff.

In America—if we are to judge by the action of the two Bennetts—there is no hope for a great newspaper which belongs to a practising Catholic. A Jew may own a great paper, however. Pulitzer was a Jew, and the greatest newspaper owner in New York to-day is a Jew. But apparently it is best from a business point of view for an editor-owner to be Protestant; for both the Bennetts practically became Protestants, and the sons of Pulitzer are now Episcopalian. Hearst also is a Protestant. All these are curious facts that I find difficult to explain, for one would think that the enormous Catholic population of New York City could support a great daily paper; but possibly most of the money in New York is non-Catholic, and, after all, it is money which makes newspapers. The fear of both the Bennetts that they might be mistaken for practical Catholics may, however, have been due simply to snobbery. On the other hand, how comes it that Pulitzer, a Jew, could fearlessly take the part of his persecuted co-religionists in Russia while the Bennetts, Catholics, were always afraid to raise their voice in favour of persecuted Catholics? Is it because the Catholic Church is the only religious organisation in the world which has unity, discipline, definite beliefs, and a definite programme, and is therefore feared by the world in a way that no other confessional body is feared?

Another reflection suggested by the career of the Bennetts and the Pulitzers is this: many of the ablest and most typical Americans seem to have been born in Europe or to be the children of parents who were both born in Europe. The elder Bennett was, as we have seen, born and educated in Scotland; and as his wife came

from Ireland, the younger Bennett can be regarded as a full-blooded European, especially since he received most of his education in the Old World. Pulitzer was born in Europe. In fact a long list could be compiled of distinguished Americans born in Europe or of European parents, although there is a strong tendency nowadays for such Americans to give out that their ancestors came over with the *Mayflower*. This tendency is due to a growing nationalism which may end in the complete stoppage of all immigration; but I would not be surprised if such a stoppage led to a marked deterioration of the American character, and to a disappearance of that energy which is supposed to be its most prominent characteristic.

It is sometimes assumed that Bennett Senior was the better journalist of the dynasty, and that his son, if born poor, would never have been able to rise above the position of sports editor; and this theory seems to derive confirmation from the fact that when the younger Bennett died, the *Herald* was found to be dying also. But, as a matter of fact, Bennett Junior was quite as able a journalist as his father, otherwise his newspaper would have collapsed long before. Young James was not inferior to old James in decision, boldness and enterprise; and though he led a riotous life, he was not altogether a sybarite; otherwise he would not have been such a good yachtsman, would never have qualified for a master's licence, and would not have been for two terms commodore of the New York Yacht Club. He was elected a member of the New York Yacht Club at sixteen. Under his editorship the *Herald* was, from 1873 to 1883, probably the most profitable and in some ways the most powerful newspaper in the world. Young Bennett sent Stanley to Africa and sent an expedition to the North Polar Sea, with the result that an island and a lake in that sea and a mountain on the shores of the Nyanza, are named after him. There is also an

Avenue Gordon-Bennett in Paris, and there is still a number of Bennett cups to be competed for each season, the best known being the aviation cup. Bennett's financing of big achievements, his establishment of a paper in Paris, and even his eccentricities made the name of the *Herald* better known in Europe than that of any other American paper.

Young Bennett was, as we have seen, half Irish and half Scottish, his mother being, before her marriage, a Miss Henrietta Agnes Crean, a lady from the West of Ireland, who was descended on one side from the Warrens of Dublin and on the other from the Crean-Lynch family of Connaught. She had come to the United States in 1838, and was supporting herself as a composer of music when the elder Bennett married her. The son has been described as having the worst qualities of the two races to which he belonged; and, unfortunately, there is some truth in this. The Irish half of him was of that wild Galway type which Charles Lever was so fond of depicting; but in 1915 a *Herald* man fresh from Paris, being asked about him in New York, replied as follows: "He's dead. The old, drunken, money-spending Jim Bennett is dead. In his place has come a Scotch miser."

"It would take an Arabian Night's volume," says Mr. Seitz, "to chronicle all the mad doings of the young man and his 'set' in the early seventies." Mr. Seitz describes several drunken frolics which seem as devoid of humour as such frolics generally are when we read of them fifty years later, and he also describes the quarrel which led to Bennett's departure from America to Paris. As is well known, this quarrel originated in a shocking breach of the proprieties which Bennett committed, while in a state of intoxication, in presence of his *fiancée*, whose brother afterwards horsewhipped Bennett and then fought a duel with him. From that time Bennett passed most of his life outside the United States, and,

in order to amuse himself, he founded in 1887 the Paris *Herald*, generally referred to by American newspapermen as "that Paris toy." It was an expensive toy, for it lost $100,000 a year on an average till the year 1917, when America's entrance into the Great War converted that loss into a profit of about the same amount. Bennett did not worry over the loss, for at the height of its power the New York edition made about one million dollars a year.

In Paris, Bennett's life was more like that of an Oriental Sultan than that of an American citizen. I myself was an astounded witness of his glory at that time, for I became connected with the *Herald* just before the Russo-Japanese war; and I shall never forget the impression of luxury, generosity, carelessness about money, eccentricity, sudden suspicion, illimitable wealth, and unaccountable waywardness made on me by my strange employer when I first came to Paris in 1905. For reasons of space, however, any description of my own dealings with Bennett is out of the question, so that I shall confine myself mainly to the book before me.

I remember having been told that one of Bennett's reasons for coming to Paris was the fear that, if he remained in the United States, his sister would have him shut up in a lunatic asylum, and, considering some of the things he did in Paris, this fear was probably not unfounded. On one occasion a guest at his palace in the Avenue d'Iéna found a large bundle of bank notes smouldering in the fire, and ascertained that it had been thrown there by Bennett because it was too bulky to go into his pocket. The guest rescued it, however, and presented it, later on, to his host when he had become comparatively sober, saying that he had found it in the fire. "Well, perhaps that's where I wanted it to be," said Bennett, throwing the bundle back into the fire again and standing on guard over it till it was consumed.

In 1900 William Dinwiddie, the *Herald's* war-corres-

pondent in South Africa, called on Bennett in Paris on his way back to the United States, and the Commodore (as we called him) invited him to dine at his Louis XIV. estate in Versailles. When Dinwiddie arrived there late in the evening, he found all Bennett's French servants in a state of great excitement owing to the fact that their revered *patron* had suddenly taken it into his head to climb the high wall surrounding his park. Worse still, he persisted in walking unsteadily along the top of the wall, despite the frenzied appeals of his servants, who feared—and with very good reason—that he would fall and break his neck. When he caught sight of Dinwiddie, however, he shouted " Hello ! Dinwiddie ! I am glad to see you," and immediately descended the ladder which his gardener had placed against the wall. The subsequent dinner was served under an immense tree lit up by electric lights.

On another occasion an American artist whom Bennett engaged was found to have long hair, which the Commodore wanted him to remove. As the artist refused to obey, he was sent to St. Petersburg, where the resident *Herald* correspondent had instructions to see that he was shorn. But the artist still refused to obey, and was consequently ordered to Berlin, where Bennett's local representative showed him a Paris wire containing the same *ukase*. Again he refused to obey, whereupon he was shipped back to New York and there discharged ; but he promptly sued the *Herald* and won his case.

His expenses in Paris at this time were enormous, for, in addition to his estate at Versailles, he had a large house in the Avenue d'Iéna, a flat in the Champs Elysées which he used as his editorial offices, a publishing-office in the Avenue de l'Opéra, and a printing office in the Rue du Louvre. In addition to this, he had a palatial country seat at Beaulieu on the Riviera and a steam yacht which alone cost a fortune to keep in commission. For twenty-two years he kept a house in forty-seventh street, New York, a large mansion on Washington Heights,

and a Villa at Newport, Long Island; and, though he never spent more than a few weeks in America during all this time, those three houses were always kept open and ready for his reception, while his room in the famous *Herald* office, Herald Square, was aired and dusted every morning on the chance of his suddenly turning up.

Bennett's attitude towards his employees was a curious mixture of generosity, despotism, trust, suspicion, and mercilessness. Probably a more merciless editor never lived. His reporters trembled for their heads, yet stuck to him with the perverse half-love, half-hate that complete ruthlessness inspires. "So-and-so is indispensable," pleaded his managing editor, to whom the Commodore replied: "I will have no indispensable men in my employ"; and to show that this was no idle threat, he thereupon cabled to New York for a list of "indispensable" men and discharged them all. Yet when he had set his heart upon an enterprise, his agents could always count upon his backing. "Find Livingstone," was the Commodore's laconic command to Stanley; and months later, in the heart of darkest Africa, Stanley decided that it would be easier to push on in face of hardship and peril than to face Bennett with a report of failure. Bennett was very far from being a Napoleon, but an employee of his was able to realise the fascination which "the little Corporal" exercised over the soldiers of his Old Guard. Despite ill-usage and contempt and a service "as desperate in ways as that in the French Foreign Legion" (to quote Mr. Seitz), reporters were always attracted to the *Herald*. The explanation given by Mr. Bennett's biographer is that "there was something compelling about the tigerish proprietor, with his fickleness and brutality. Women are said to be fascinated by such characters. Certainly newspaper men were. Besides, the *Herald* was a conquering force, and they liked to be associated with victory and achievement . . . ."

Mr. Seitz gives many amusing instances of Bennett's "fickleness and brutality." He actually kept spies in his offices, and insisted on elaborate reports from them. In some of those reports he read that Mr. De Witt, his advertising manager in New York, was getting fat, and forthwith cabled him to take the next French steamer to Cherbourg. De Witt did so, and, being a Princeton athlete not long out of college, he went through a strenuous course of exercise all the way across, with the result that when he appeared before the suspicious satrap of the Avenue d'Iéna, he looked as slim and agile as an antelope. "De Witt," was the greeting, "I have been receiving some anonymous letters about you. They say you are getting fat and lazy. Napoleon and his marshals won their victories when they were lean. If you have become fat you are of no use to me." As De Witt was not fat and as he took this extraordinary address in good part he was allowed to leave the presence, and soon after his return to New York he was promoted to the post of general manager.

Bennett hated beards almost as much as he hated fat. A bearded correspondent who had done good work for him was once invited aboard his yacht on the Riviera, but was turned back at the gangway by the head steward who said that he had received the most strict instructions from the Commodore to allow nobody with a beard to pass. The visitor was so hurt at this reception that he returned to Paris without having seen his employer.

Bennett frequently summoned members of his New York staff to Paris, and then ordered them home summarily without even seeing them. On one occasion he cabled for two important men, and they both appeared a week later in the folds of the gobelins tapestry shrouding the doorway of his editorial sanctum near the *Arc de Triomphe*. Bennett was seated at a desk writing, but he soon looked up and asked with his usual politeness: "What in hell are you doing here?"

"You sent for us," stammered one of the two.

"Go back to New York," was the curt command.

They went.

That free-born American citizens should put up with such insolence may seem incredible, but the victims generally took it all as a joke; and it must be remembered that Bennett always paid their travelling expenses, first class of course, as well as their bills in the most exclusive Paris hotels. Sometimes they stayed in the French capital for months before being summoned before the Commodore; and as they never knew what moment of the day or night he might furiously telephone or send his auto for them, they were always afraid to leave their hotel, with the result that, in the end, the high-class cooking and the rare wines began singularly to pall. I remember on one occasion going out for a breath of fresh air after waiting day and night for a week in a resplendent hotel near the Avenue de l'Opéra, but hardly had I lost myself in the crowd on the Boulevards when the long-expected message from Bennett came, with the result that I nearly missed the appointment. I thought it simply a matter of chance, but am not so sure now.

But there was bigness as well as littleness about Bennett. He once went to the trouble of chartering a steamship for me at Singapore, and when I failed to catch it, he limited himself to saying, casually, when next we met: "Sorry you didn't catch that steamer. It cost me a good deal"—meaning, I suppose, five or ten thousand pounds sterling. On the other hand, if I *had* caught that steamer I would not, perhaps, be writing these reminiscences to-day, for it would have brought me, along with Admiral Rodzhevensky's doomed fleet, into the maelstrom of Tsushima.

Here I take leave of Mr. Seitz's book, which is probably the best account of the two Bennetts which we are ever likely to have.

FRANCIS MCCULLAGH.

O'CONNELL AND UNIVERSITY EDUCATION [1]

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DEALING with elementary education measures for Ireland, in May 1832, O'Connell told the Westminster Parliament: "Let Protestants educate their own children as they choose. All that we Catholics ask is to be allowed the same." Addressing the Irish people on the issue of university education, in May 1845, he affirmed that "the Presbyterian, the Protestant, the Dissenter, the Catholic should be each freely and separately educated. That is what we desire."

The Catholic and democratic campaign led by O'Connell, from 1819-20, against the schools of the Kildare Place Society, and against its subsidised and allied proselytising agencies operating in Ireland, had the ultimate result of bringing him into close association, on all issues of educational principle, with John MacHale, Archbishop of Tuam. "A man of European education and interests," as Prince Hermann Pückler-Muskau had recorded at Derrynane in 1828-29, O'Connell was fully aware, at first hand, of the ravages of Continental Liberalism since 1815 in all fields of educational activity, and most especially within universities.

Soon after O'Connell's release from Richmond Prison, in the autumn of 1844, it became known that Sir Robert Peel, the Prime Minister of England, proposed to use his great parliamentary majority in giving effect to two academic plans within Ireland. He would provide a greatly increased annual grant for Maynooth College. Besides, colleges of university grade would be set up in Belfast, Cork and Galway, constituting a new "Queen's

[1] For article on "O'Connell and Popular Education" see June issue.

University," with its offices and assembly place within Dublin Castle. Endowed solely by the English State, and having their entire staffs appointed and removable by the English Government, these novel institutions would give a relatively cheap form of academic education. Offering a decorous verbal but merely civil guarantee against attacks on the religious beliefs of students, they would really expose the faith of Catholics, as the event amply proved, to the influences of indifferentism and agnostic liberalism. Unheard of in Great Britain, this new type of state-controlled university was to be tried on the Catholics of Ireland.

As to the occasion and political opportunism of the Peel Plan, so termed by Archbishop MacHale, there was no doubt. It closely imitated previous English models in Ireland, those of 1792-93 and 1828-29. In 1844, the Oregon question was causing acute tension between England and the United States. War was openly spoken of as a real danger. The Irish in America, already powerful even in 1826-28, were far more numerous by 1844. The Hawarden and other great "clearances" since 1829 had done their work only too well. Palliative measures, astutely directed, might have a soothing influence in Ireland.

These educational plans called O'Connell into action, for the second time, as a Catholic and democratic leader, basing his conduct explicitly on Catholic principles. In the earlier campaign of 1819-1830, his task was the easier because he could always count on the full adhesion of Catholic opinion and activity. The exceptions were negligible. In 1844-45 his action in a second struggle of the same nature, but on a new front, is even more instructive. Equally explicit and avowed as to its Catholic principles, it had to be taken amid internal conflicts of opinion, and despite strange deficiencies of vision no less than of decision among those who normally should have supported him. No chapter of his long

public record exhibits his Catholic mind to greater advantage. Courageous and consistent in his entire attitude on Peel's new State University Plan, he combined with these qualities a conspicuous prudence and tactical skill. Peel's measure would pass at Westminster: "The Ministry have a most overwhelming majority, especially in favour of any measure opposed by the *old Irish*," he wrote to P. V. FitzPatrick. For the time being, his Catholic action might be apparently without fruit; but at least he would have done his part, as an experienced and educated layman, to sow the good seed for the future. It took many a decade to have that necessary course and vital stand produce its effects. But it ultimately did so; and in no country of mixed religions is instruction —elementary, secondary and university—so free from the evil of "mixed education" affecting Catholics as in Ireland to-day. The battle fought by O'Connell in 1845, in his old age, was concerned with university education; the battle of his prime, 1820-1830, was for Catholic elementary education. In this year, 1929, over 99 per cent. of our Catholic school children at the primary stage and over 95 per cent. of our Catholic students of university rank are being educated under assured conditions which the Catholic Church can countenance, with which she can safely co-operate. The refractory residuum tends more and more to be both mentally insignificant and socially ineffective. The great cliff may have some detritus at its base.

The iniquitous sentence of a year in prison, a fine of £2,000, and bail in £10,000 for seven years passed on O'Connell in May, 1844, was annulled four months later, when he had entered on his 70th year. In October he was writing from Derrynane to P. V. FitzPatrick: "I found my pack in the high pride of beauty. It would delight any strong being, capable of delight, to see them and hear them. I had a splendid hunt yesterday." The end of the month saw written that masterly letter to

Davis, now obviously the first indication of the keen internal conflict that was soon to be waged over the university measure. In that "able and trenchant" remonstrance—the descriptive terms are those of Charles Gavan-Duffy—O'Connell privately directed attention to Davis's "Protestant philippic from Belfast," and to his "high and haughty tone of threatening" when plain Catholic rights in Ireland were plainly defended. "I really think you might have spared the insinuation that you and other Protestants were 'pioneering the way to power' for men who would establish any sort of Catholic Ascendancy. . . . . I should most bitterly regret that we lost you by reason of any Protestant monomania. We Papists *require* co-operation, support, combination; but we *do not want* protection or patronage." Public work no less than field sports claimed the Liberator's attention that winter. "I return to Dublin sooner than I wish," he writes on December 29: "in the meantime I work here as much as I can. I had a glorious hunt yesterday. The ground was wet, yet nothing could baffle the skill of my beautiful pack: they hunted and killed in the best style." In the same letter, he mentions the despatch of *letters to the Holy See, to be posted from Paris* by a trusty friend to whom they were addressed in that city. It was the epoch of "Grahamising" in the English Post Office System, as organised by that fine old English gentleman, Sir James Graham of Netherby, Peel's right-hand man.

Parliament was soon to open: some elements of the State University Plan were becoming known. Urging the need of prudential silence for a little time, the better to safeguard "the principle of exclusive Catholic education," O'Connell writes from Dublin to Archbishop MacHale, on 19 February 1845:—

> I am exceedingly alarmed at the coming prospect . . . . alarmed lest the friends of truly Catholic education should be outmanoeuvred by their enemies. A fatal Liberalism is but too

prevalent. These pseudo-liberals are but too anxious to have an opportunity of assailing the party of sincere and practical Catholics as being the supporters of narrow and bigoted doctrines. What those enemies most desire is that a premature move should be made on our part. I do not wish to give our enemies any pretext for avoiding the real question that may, and perhaps must arise, by any by-battle as to the time of commencing our attack. However strongly I believe that we shall have occasion to attack, yet that occasion cannot arise legitimately until the Plan is known in all its details . . . . I need not inform your Grace that my opinion is decidedly favourable to the education of Catholics being exclusively committed to Catholic authority.

The Maynooth Measure having passed the Commons House at Westminster, Peel brought in his Colleges Bill on May 9, 1845, having Sir James Graham as his adjutant. Gavan-Duffy described the Colleges, without unfairness, as institutions " liberally endowed by the State to provide a purely secular education " ; but the Bill was far more. The entire instrumental processes of that education, personal and material, were to be chosen, directed, and controlled, with absolute power, from Dublin Castle. The eight weeks that followed called forth all O'Connell's energies ; nor were the supporters of Peel's measure less active. The now classical descriptions of the controversy are those provided, two score years later, by Sir Charles Gavan Duffy in his *Young Ireland,* and in his less well known but even finer *Life of Thomas Davis,* which followed in 1892. There is no space and no need to recall here his account of the momentous meeting at Conciliation Hall, where O'Connell expressed his firm dissent from the emphatic approval of Peel's Plan already issued by " Young Ireland " in the *Nation.* In a clear and most courteous speech he placed himself with " Old Ireland." It was on that occasion that the two fateful phrases were publicly uttered ; and despite all that Davis could then plead, despite the decision at once taken not to have the issue of religious principle, " the real merits " of the controversy, debated further *in that Hall,* it was clear

that the definite parting of the ways had all but come, even in the political order. The events a few months later, when "Young Ireland" quitted the movement headed by O'Connell and entered on its own independent and not markedly concordant lines of action, merely gave effect to what definitely emerged at the meeting in May, 1845. The issues were those of "mixed education" versus "separate education"; the two terms were then explicitly and freely used in public by the opposing sections of the National Organisation.

We have no letter of O'Connell bearing on the development of this controversy within Ireland. Of letters written by Davis and by his close associates, on the other hand, many are given in Gavan Duffy's *Life* of his friend and fellow-worker; and it must be said that their matter and their manner are marked both by bitterness of expression and by vehement partisanship. Pugnacious in every way, they are in utter contrast with the generous tributes repeatedly paid by O'Connell, in his speeches and in his letters, to the character of Davis, to his great national services, and to the public value of *The Nation*. It was within these eight summer weeks of 1845 that Davis, writing constantly to his friends, affirmed that O'Connell was "not sincere for separate education"; that his declaration of personal regard was "certainly gammon"; that O'Connell's declaration of principles at Conciliation Hall was "insolence," "nonsense and abuse," while he himself (letter to Smith O'Brien) actually suggested that "it is desirable that O'Connell should be removed for a while from the persons who alarm his Catholic feelings." Of these "persons," Davis further declared that they included "not one man of mark," though among them were such as Frederick Lucas, John O'Hagan (who had it specially noted in the *Life* of 1892), Edward Maginn, and John MacHale. O'Connell's supporters against the Peel Plan were characterised by Davis as a "lying, ignorant, and lazy clan," "little

stupid mercenary devils," "parasites," men "with gluey claws," who are "bigots," whose "bigoted journals" are the outlets for "bigotry, billingsgate, crude and contradictory dogmas, and unrelieved stupidity."

Davis, in plain fact, had at this juncture dedicated his energies "to vindicate the Plan"—the phrase is Charles Gavan Duffy's—devised by Peel and Graham. "I am determined," he wrote during these weeks to Gavan Duffy, "not to be the tool of a Catholic Ascendancy," recurring to the insinuation against which O'Connell had very seriously remonstrated six months before. Catholic Ireland and its leader simply sought Catholic education for its own children. There could be nothing of Ascendancy about that quest; and then as well as ever since in Ireland the only Ascendancy was that of the Church to which Davis belonged, backed up by the physical power which had established it. But Davis appears to have had, like Sir Robert Peel, his own plan for the education of Irish Catholics; and, as Duffy says, "he threw himself with all the vigour of his nature into the task of getting this measure unanimously and thankfully accepted." To him and to his associates, many of them being very young graduates of Trinity College, dissent from their views was preposterous; and when O'Connell dissented, his words were called "hopelessly vicious." Davis went to the astounding length of affirming in a Dublin meeting that the Catholic Bishops of Ireland had "declared for mixed education," and *The Nation* announced, 24 May, 1845, that "we have learned with feelings of intense pleasure that the Bishops had declared in favour of mixed education." O'Connell had no difficulty in showing at once that this was utterly baseless, and the very opposite of fact. One excellent result of such utterances was the signing in all the Catholic churches of Dublin, with Archbishop Murray's approval, and in all the churches over Ireland, on Sunday, 15 June,

1845, of a Catholic Petition to Parliament, which explicitly stated the Catholic mind :—

> The Prelates of the Catholic Church in Ireland, assembled in Synod in Dublin to consider the Education Bill for Ireland, have unanimously declared that in their opinion the educational system proposed in that Bill would be dangerous to the faith and morals of the Catholic pupils.

The clear cleavage expressed at the Conciliation Hall Meeting, May, between O'Connell with the "separate educationists" (Smith O'Brien's phrase) and Davis with the "advocates of mixed education," was by common agreement no longer to be expressed in that historic assembly place. The conflict of principles was to be fought out elsewhere in Ireland. With this working agreement went another. The Peel Plan was to be opposed by both groups, by reason of its establishment of direct State action and control, especially regarding all executive and faculty appointments. Such a system was as yet an entire novelty in English law. The effects of O'Connell's masterly policy, defined in his letter to Tuam three months earlier, were now manifest. About the London proceedings he felt little concern or interest. The University Bill would pass ; but it must be a failure in so far as its principles were ever to be applied. The real issue lay in Ireland. He had waited till the advocates of mixed education had fully exposed their positions, and he had committed them to oppose the Peel Plan (which quite plainly, they wanted realised, even with State monopoly of academic control) on a grave issue of public interest, one on which Peel and Graham would hold firmly to their views. Before long, Smith O'Brien, writing to Davis, pointed out this situation, realising the advantages of O'Connell's position :

> No practical difference now arises between us and the separate educationists. We are, in my opinion, bound to sustain them on those grounds on which we have ourselves (*whether wisely or not, is not now the question*) proclaimed our opposition to the measure (*Life of Davis*, 311).

The issue of educational principle was now transferred to the press and to public meetings outside Conciliation Hall and outside the National Repeal Association. The writers in *The Nation* had to encounter O'Connell himself as a writer of the leading articles in *The Freeman's Journal*. It would not be feasible to quote from these sets of articles in any full form; but even a few excerpts will show the difficulty of presenting the Davis policy in any way calculated to be palatable to the mass of the Catholics in Ireland. Fantastic assertions and imaginative arguments had to be resorted to in advocating mixed education before a people who had long suffered under the compulsory association, in many forms of schools, of their Catholic children with the children of the Protestant garrison. It was always in the "mixed" form that, as Charles Gavan Duffy wrote, "education had been the agent for proselytism for two hundred years" (*Life of Davis*, 291). The Cromwellian landlords had, since 1820, entered on a new and rigorous campaign of coercion through elementary education, a campaign most viciously active in 1840-1845. The leading article which opened the campaign in *The Nation* could not be more astonishingly worded.

> The two great principles of the Bill are Mixed Education and Government Nomination. We are as resolute for the first as we are against the second.
>
> The objections to Separate Education are immense. The reasons for it are reasons for Separate Life, for mutual animosity, for penal laws, for religious wars . . . . *These are the logical consequences of the doctrine of Separate Education;* but we acquit its friends of that or of any other such ferocious purpose. Their intentions are pious and sincere: their argument is dangerous . . . . We repeat our claim for Mixed Education, *because it has worked well in Trinity College* (*Nation*, 17 May, 1845, p. 520, col. 2).

To-day, there is no need to comment on the robust spirit of historical fiction which stalks about in the centre of this remarkable yet typical passage. The attribution of the Penal Code to the perverse appetite of Irish

Catholics for the Catholic education of their children is startling enough. But the climax was attained in the final clause. Down to 1793 there was a thin trickle of perversions from Catholic faith, within Trinity College. The presence of Catholics there was illegal by English law, and if a few did enter, it was by connivance. From 1793 Catholics could take a degree there, but could have no share in the ample monetary benefits of Queen Elizabeth's foundation. These aids to worldly advancement were obtainable at the price of perversion. The thin trickle became a not inconsiderable stream. One who knew this well was Michael Slattery, sometime President of Maynooth, then Archbishop of Cashel. Before and after that year of conflict, 1845, he was the trusted adviser of the Holy See regarding education in Ireland, high in its confidence as a defender, zealous alike and prudent, of Catholic education for Catholics. As a boy and as a young man Dr. Slattery had gone through the educational "ordeal as by fire." He had been placed at a southern classical school, long notorious as an instrument of perversion for young Catholic pupils of ability. By its agency he was next transferred to Trinity College. Many a Catholic lad, as he often recounted, had he there seen yield to the many attractive baits of Scholarship and Preferment, which had to be qualified for, *after* competitive success, by the formal act of apostasy, the "reception of Communion" in Trinity College Chapel. Yes, the Catholic point of view was available as to this "claim for Mixed Education, because it has *worked well* in Trinity College."

O'Connell, in the leading article of the *Freeman's Journal*, on 21 May, still kept to the issue which was to be sustained in common with Davis:

> A monopoly of sect existed: a monopoly of corruption was to be placed beside it, an arena of jostling mendicancy. Catholics wanted dignity, emolument, and leisure for their men of intellectual greatness; forty great bribes were to be placed in the hands of the British Government for purchasing up literary Swiss.

He had not long to wait for his full opportunity. Three days later his opponents, claiming to speak for what they called "the middle classes of Ireland," made ingenuous confession of how he had already hit the mark :

> Most ardently indeed do we desire the liberal endowments and the mixed education of this Bill.

The earlier denunciation of Government Nomination had become tenuous indeed. Sir Robert Peel and Sir James Graham could feel safe on that point : they even strengthened the Government grip on academic action by amendments inserted in their own measure. O'Connell was now set free both by the action of *The Nation* in its leading articles and by the public declarations of Davis himself. The result followed in his articles of 27 and 28 May, and in speeches at the time.

> We feel that the Presbyterian, the Protestant, the Dissenter, the Catholic should be each freely and separately educated. This is what *we desire*. Mr. Davis has declared himself an advocate of mixed education. He did not read the resolutions unanimously adopted at the meeting of the Prelates, wherein they declared that they deemed the proposed system dangerous to the faith and morals of the Catholic people. The principle of the Bill, it has been alleged by Mr. Davis, they affirm and approve of. Now this is decidedly opposed to fact and truth. The Catholic Bishops claim that there shall be no mixing and blending of creeds and principles, which are incapable of amalgamation. There should be provided for Catholic youth, under the sanction of episcopal authority, sound Catholic teaching in History, in Morals, in Philosophy, in Religion, and in everything capable, directly or indirectly, of influencing the religious principles of the students.

Article followed article, from his pen, but not, of course, over his name, in the *Freeman's Journal*. He kept the issue of Government monopoly always well in view : Peel's Plan, he wrote on June 10, is "the scheme of the Government for grasping the direction of the Irish mind." He knew well of Napoleon's purpose in founding the Imperial University of France forty years before ; he was well aware of its persistent action under the

Liberal Monarchy. Hence, at the great meeting in Cork, intended by Peel to be a principal centre of his new State College system, O'Connell spoke plainly and gravely, yet with all courtesy, on June 11, 1845. The sentences cited were, five days later, repeated in the leading article of the *Freeman's Journal:*

> I confess I have the strongest abhorrence of that Bill. I will never consent to have the Catholic people of this country brought up in Liberal infidelity. I wish to have them educated, but it must be especially in their duties to God, as the basis of all other knowledge. The memorial of the Catholic Bishops against the Bill was treated with contempt, aye, even by Catholics. I am more afraid of treachery and compromise from Catholics than of any other persons.

O'Connell had not long to wait for a conspicuous public illustration of what he said. That Thomas Wyse of Waterford who had in 1829 been the historian of the Catholic Associations, and who had then described in graphic terms O'Connell's developed campaign against the Kildare Place Society, had since then travelled far on a very different path. In 1835 he had publicly urged the creation of State Secondary Schools in each county, to be ruled, in the name of impartiality and religious fair play, by the Grand Jury, a body of Cromwellian landlords. By 1845 he was looking for the title of Right Honourable, for political place, for diplomatic service; and like another Emancipation notability, he ultimately achieved them all. At Westminster, on June 23, 1845, Wyse, the Irish Catholic member of Parliament, encouraged Peel and Graham to stand fast:

> If Ministers yielded to the demand of the Catholic Bishops, how soon might they not have similar demands, until at last they arrived at the position of no mixed education in Ireland!

a deliverance promptly reprinted in *The Nation* of that week (28 June, p. 614). But the great gathering at Cork did produce, from a close friend, a warning and reasoned advice to Thomas Davis, a letter learned of only several

decades later. The evening of that meeting, June 11, Denny Lane wrote from Cork to O'Connell's chief opponent. Every phrase is weighty :

> O'Connell is the most popular man that ever lived, and will be implicitly obeyed by a great body of the people. The man is *thoroughly Irish, and so devoted to the religion to which the people are devoted,* that he is loved by them as a father. His power is irresistible. The power of the People of Ireland is rendered ten times more effective than it would otherwise be, by being concentrated in his person. If you have power and differ from him, you cause a split and do serious mischief. Suppose you have no power beside your own, he cuts you off and destroys your usefulness to the cause. If it becomes absolutely necessary to differ from O'Connell, *you must get O'Brien, who is a sensible man, to express in the most temperate manner your dissent. I have heard people remark that there is in your manner something very dictatorial. I suppose I am so used to your impertinence that I do not notice the fault ; but I am sure it exists, and is a very dangerous one* (*Life of Davis,* 1892, p. 300-301).

Wise views and wise reasoning ; coincident, too, with the view of Charles S. Parnell. Having had the whole issue of O'Connell and Young Ireland explained to him by an expert on that period, he declared with decision that O'Connell was in the right. So was Denny Lane, a good Irishman, a knowledgeable man in his generation.

Only now, when he was finished with the clear issue in Ireland, did O'Connell proceed to London. From the start he was little concerned with events there : he was a realist, and saw clearly that Peel would pass his University Bill. He spoke on June 16, 23, 30, but only to express the Catholic position.

> I shall press for a division on one of the early clauses ; not with any hope of success, but in order to protest against its provisions. You cannot succeed if you continue with the Bill in opposition to the opinion and advice of the Catholic Bishops. I have authentic evidence that none of the alterations made in the Bill has made any change whatever in their views regarding it. The Archbishop of Tuam, Dr. John MacHale, writing from Maynooth on June 26 affirmed that " the sentiments of the Bishops

relative to the dangers of faith and morals, with which the Bill is fraught, remain unchanged. Their resolutions regarding this bad scheme of academic education remain in full force. No ministry can ever hope to render tolerable to the Catholic people of Ireland such an enactment." Yet know that the Irish people do require additional facilities for education: they would be invaluable to us.

The letter from Archbishop MacHale, of June 26, was in reply to O'Connell's representation from London, June 21, of beliefs prevalent among the Tory Party that the Irish Bishops would prove quite amenable.

My ever revered Lord—My heart is heavy and my fears are great lest seduction should accomplish what force and fraud have failed to achieve. Sir James Graham's amendments will make the Bill worse simply by extending the power and dominion of the Government, or of persons appointed by and removable at will by that Government. You have from the Ministry sweet words and solemn promises. The danger is that the prelates will disbelieve in designed deceit, and so yield, to empty promises, that which could ensure, if withheld for a while, substantial performance.

The great leader added words expressive of his confidence that "the Prelates will stand firm to all the Church sanctions relative to Catholic education." A prophetic summary, this, of all that occurred from 1847 to 1850, when the clear and reiterated sanctions of the Church were given executive effect at the National Synod of Thurles, under the presidency of Paul Cullen, Archbishop of Armagh and Apostolic Delegate, and in the cathedral city of Archbishop Michael Slattery. O'Connell was then gone, but his views, always consistent, clear, explicitly Catholic, always the avowed ground of his public action as to university education, had completely prevailed. It took sixty years thereafter to enforce that "substantial performance" of which he wrote on June 21, 1845. It came in the form of real academic and popular control of an autonomous University System, planned to be, in both its student population and its administrative

and teaching staff, in unison with and substantially akin to the Catholic people of Ireland. It was worth the waiting and the struggle.

One other citation of O'Connell's words, finely written at the close of that year of right noble work for Catholic education, remains to be made. They were written from Derrynane on September 17, 1845, when news had just come to him of the tragically sudden illness and death of Thomas Davis. They are but a part of a letter that, like many of his letters, well merits full and reverent study.

> I do not know what to write. My mind is bewildered, my heart afflicted. What a blow—what a cruel blow to the cause of Irish nationality! He was a creature of transcendent qualities of mind and heart: I, in the course of the few years—if years they be—still left me, cannot expect to look upon his like again. What an example he was to the Protestant youths of Ireland! What a noble emulation of his virtues ought to be excited in the Catholic young men of Ireland. And his heart, too! it was as gentle, as kind, as loving, as a woman's: as tenderly kind as his genius was magnificent. I can write no more. *Fungar inani munere.* How vain are words or tears when such a national calamity afflicts us.

Here, too, is a great example, given in 1844-45, by our consistently great exemplar of Catholic action on Catholic principles, that man "so thoroughly Irish, and so devoted to the religion to which the Irish people are devoted."

T. Corcoran.

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J., M.A.

XI

A POET COMPLAINS TO HIS PRINCESS

Gofraidh Mac an Bhaird, the writer of this poem, died in 1478 (A.U.). As several Brians of the Oirghialla princes were contemporaries of his, the one whom he mentions in v. 13 cannot be identified. Neither is anything known of Máire, the lady to whom the poem is addressed (vv. 1, 12), beyond the fact of her belonging to the family of Mág Uidhir. Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh's poem, referred to in v. 8, has been edited in *The Irish Monthly*, February, 1919.

Gofraidh mac an Baird cct.

1. Cuimnigh a Máire an chonnradh do cheangladar
go ndearnadar gan tuirbaid ar ndáinne do bainghniughadh
dod ghnúis mar lasair córaide a chuimniughadh
dar fuilngiodar ar n-óroige araidh d'ainmniughadh.

2. Thiallaim dod dealbchoigh níor dáil anamna
glanadha 'n-a ndealbtair le dáimh bar ndeaghumla
múr mar boighéamain na mbuinne n-oireadha
buime oileamna do dún d'oideadaidh na healadhna.

3. Cuirtior d'aontoil ó n-a rádh fan fíoghbaile
mo dán ar n-a mhionfhoirde mar nar aontuigh éinfhile
ar cairde mbronnaidh go haimrir d'áirde
bar ngráidhfile an t-ainmrin a Conduil céillidhe.

4. Mac an Baird do chuaidh i gcor mar do chuirire
acht go bfuileire ar mo thol ór aird an uair eileire
dá altrom ó nach cumang do chridheire
ní dligeire a fulang fa antrom an eireire.

5. Ná bíodh an ndáil a fhaor fhéimhidhe
mar an taom nar céillidhe do báidh bríogh a mhórfuile
ní clor 'n-a diaidh fa doilghe acht aoinfhile
oighre faoirfhine Uí Bhriain Bóruimhe.

6. Téid Gofraidh fionn fáidh ar dtreidheine
feinfhile do cáidh ór cionn gach fgolaidhe
do b'fiú gráidh í Dálaigh ar an deighfine
le dán ar n-a glainfighe don Tálfuil dogaidhe.

7. Ó Dálaiġ fionn an fúin fá fadadar
ġé do coġadar mionn rúi na reanoidead
d'oiġir ruad fionRoir do b'anobar
nior ġabadar uad dioġrair a deaġoiġead.

8. Thiall ó gCair ar gcall a n-oiġeaġaoil
gan fann dá oiġealaoid lair ón laġġabáil
an dán cumtar don fearċoin ón eagarfáid
dealbtoir nior beagánáir do Murċad Ó Madagáin.

9. A bainċeann ban fréime fioġUidir
le fiodbuidin cléire nar ċar buanfalaid
bire a foiġéag ar aibġe don fíneamain
mar an aicme ón fíneadair ar bar gcoiméad fa a
gcualabair.

10. Ioc bar fada far nóil ba [daorċumal]
mo dán ar n-a faodruġad le fada ó nar fiarfuiġead
ġéidionn ar ġlaic bar nórédcta dúinfidear
lé múinfidear dait gomad déanta ar ndiandúiread.

11. Ná fillead do dán ar air it aġaidre
nem famailre ó Dál gCair mar do finnead romaidre.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

12. Gan oman a Máire ní beitte go mbiodbuidre
ionċuimne ar ndáinne mar ar cheidde a gcanfaimne
fir an dara bliadain gan t'aġra ní feidfimne
an taġra nad ceilfimne ná niarfaid a hadċuinge.

13. Fir dar ċóir cáin na reinČearmna
fróiġ cleitfeamra do bir do dáim an dagtarda
ó tád bar nóá ċrú 'n-a fian fiodċoda
do clú ir ionċomda do Brian Mág Madġamna.

14. A ndeanna dún ní haitfead le hóġMuire
dar fúr ar ġlórmaire a maitmead maordaide
dá ngabtar linne fliġe tar a fiorġuide
tinne a miorbuile ó ċride dar gcaomnuine.

Cuimniġ.

Translation

1. Remember, Máire, the pact thou didst bind ; 'tis right to recall to thy fair face that thou gavest unlimited authority to my profession by allowing my golden work to be named after thee.

2. I came—'twas not a thing to hesitate about—to thy shapely palace, the noble dwelling wherein is reproduced by thy devoted poets a fort like generous Eamhain of the famous streams ; thy castle is a foster-nurse for sages.

3. Thou didst consent, because one poet approved not of my fine-wrought work, that my title—that of thy official poet—should not be mentioned in thy palace, O wise Condal, thus delaying my reward for some time.

4. Though thou art at other times openly in favour of Mac an Bhaird, and even supporting him—for thy heart is generous—yet as thou hast inflicted on him the fall he has suffered, thou art bound not to leave him neath the weight of this oppression.

5. O noble gentle lady, let not our relations be like that foolish deed which overwhelmed the pride of the scion of Ó Briain Bóruimhe's noble race ; since his time no one has ever heard of a poet being ill-treated except one (myself).

6. Gofraidh Fionn, one of us, an ancient poet supreme among scholars, devoted himself to fair-weaving of poetry for Tál's choice race ; Ó Dálaigh deserved love from that good stock.

7. Ó Dálaigh Fionn—the spirit in which they indulged (in his regard), though they had adopted that idol of the old poets' eyes, was unbearable to the scion of the sages of wine-rich Ros ; owing to it they got not from him the best of his goodly compositions.

8. The fate of I Cais after losing their poetic lover was that, owing to their poor treatment of him, they got no stanza of his artist-work, the poem composed by that deft-sage to the hero ; for Murchadh Ó Madagháin was it made, no slight honour.

9. O princess of royal Odhar's race which never liked any lasting feud with poets' noble band, do thou, O ripest branch of that vineyard, imitate the race whence thou comest and be on thy guard against what thou hast heard of me.

10. To undo thy neglect of me shall be a heavy fine for not having asked for my poem, now long since finished ; a chain shall be locked on the wrists of the poetry written for thee, so that thou mayst learn to give me a pressing invitation.

11. Let not the poem to thee be turned against thee ; as was done to one of my profession once before by Dál gCais.

. . . . . .

12. Not without danger, O Máire, canst thou persist in thy deafness ; my poem is to be heeded, for my words are true ; I will not wait till next year to accuse thee ; the warning I give thee, do not ask for it again.

13. Since the families of you both are a race quick in giving help, heroes whose due is the tribute of ancient Cearmna, hosts stout of spear who give good profits to poets, it is Brian Mág Mathghamhna's duty to maintain thy fame.

14. The Virgin Mary is not averse to what thou mayst do for me, O gracious noble lady, whose glory is greater for favouring me ; if I follow any course against her constant wish, the more vigorous are her wondrous works in earnest desire to save me.

Notes

MSS. : R.I.A. A v. 2, p. 54 (A) ; A iv. 3, p. 845 (B).

1 *a vel* -maiṁ B, *b* -ḃaiṁ AB, *d* -ḃaiṁ AB. 2 *d* doideaġaiḃ B. 3 *b* naṁ oṁuiġ A, *c* mbṗonnaiġ AB, *d* A lady Condal is mentioned F.M. 792, A.U. 796. 4 *a* Gofraidh was head of his name, *cf* A.U. 1478, do ċuaiḋ not in A. 7 *a* -daiṁ AB, *c* ṗionnṁaiṁ A. 8 *a* oiġiġaoil AB, *b* oiġilaoiḋ AB. 9 *b* -ṁalaḋ AB, *c* airḋe A, *d* This line has fifteen syllables, one more than the usual maximum. 10 *a* ṗuáta A ; daoṁċuṁaiḋ AB. 11 *cd* not in MSS. 12 *b* ionḋoiṁḋe B, *c* ṁeiḋṁime AB. 13 *a* Ceaṁna, reference uncertain, *c* cáid A 14 *a* ndeaṁna, 2 *sg. pres. sbj. d* míoṁṁuile. A.

THE CINEMA AND THE CHILD

BY JOHN P. REARDON, B.A., H.DIP.-IN-ED.

THE coming of the " talkies " among us as an accomplished fact of commercialised recreation brings to mind the whole problem of the cinema in its bearing on the social and educational problems of the day. It is not too much to say that the educational world as a whole has so far shelved rather than accepted and fully considered the influence, direct and indirect, of the cinema on education. We have had consideration of the question from various quarters—some have decried the cinema in all its phases, while others have hailed it as the panacea of all the troubles of the schoolroom, but no generally-accepted opinion can be put forward on this question as there can on, say, the question of using text-books or blackboards, or on the question of reading or music in the schoolroom. Yet the cinema now claims attention as does any of these.

The whole question of the connection of the cinema and education resolves itself upon consideration into two very distinct parts. It is necessary to examine first the educational influences of the ordinary film at the ordinary picture house to which children and adults go—not for education, but for amusement. Secondly, it is necessary to take up the question of the cinema actually installed in the schoolroom and used there as a piece of apparatus, as are the blackboards or the wall-maps.

When writing on the first of these questions we deal primarily with facts as they are, while the second question is yet largely a consideration of conditions as they might be, since, with the exception of the United States and France and one or two other countries, very little has been done to avail of the cinema as an educational instrument.

THE PICTURE THEATRE AND EDUCATION

The motion-picture is a comparatively recent invention. It was first formally presented to the public at the World Fair of Chicago in 1893 by Muybridge, who used a machine in which the pictures to be shown were set along the margin of a revolving glass disc, and by Edison, who exhibited his Kinetograph, the first motion-picture machine using film.

It is interesting to note that these early attempts at cinematography were purely educational. Muybridge wished to study the movements of animals; Dr. Marey continued the same work; Carvallo worked on anatomical research by means of cinematograph and X-ray; Comandon gave to the world some wonderful micro-cinematographs, and other pioneer workers had as their object also the advancement of scientific knowledge. It was not until about 1910 that the recreational possibilities of the cinema came to be realised to any extent; but it is to the development of the recreational side of the discovery that we owe its evolution from the crude beginnings of the early period.

It is hardly necessary to refer to the extent to which the cinema has now grown. It is America's fifth industry; the motion picture has been referred to as "the one universal language"; the average weekly attendance at picture theatres in the United States alone was estimated some years ago as 50,000,000[1]; other facts show also the stupendousness of the industry.[2]

This must of necessity have a bearing on the educational life of the world, for the film now finds its way into all countries. This fact has been realised in some quarters. The English Cinema Commission of Inquiry stated: "No social problem of the day requires more earnest attention. The cinema under wise guidance may be made a powerful influence for good; if neglected,

[1] Figures from the *Film Daily* of January 23, 1923.

[2] The yearly attendance at picture houses in England in 1924 was 1,075,875,000

if its abuse is unchecked, its potentialities for evil are manifold."

The fact that the educational influence of the cinema is incidental does not take from the fact that this influence exists. When the citizen of the Greek state went to the theatre he went there for recreation, yet his going there raised his level educationally. M. Julien Luchaire[1] is correct when he says: "The influence exercised by the cinema on the populace can only find a parallel in that of the theatre in the cities of Ancient Greece and in that of the daily press in modern nations since the nineteenth century." This does not mean that the intellectual tone of the commercial film is of necessity a high one. The writer just quoted (M. Luchaire) goes on to remark that "the lower classes derive from the cinema a large part of the emotions and thoughts which make up their mental life," but we cannot conclude that they are *always* the better for these emotions and thoughts.

The history of the cinema has shown that it has had to battle against very formidable difficulties. Its reception as a public amusement was the reception of a mechanical toy—something of which (it was predicted) the public would tire as soon as the novelty wore away. Those engaged in the industry had a somewhat similar idea, and hence they wished to make money with no thought of the future of the cinema. Entrance prices to picture-theatres were low—too low—for the upper classes left this form of amusement severely alone. It was only when the attendance began to fall off that producers realised that there might be higher possibilities in the cinematograph than the production of cheap farces.

The first of the change was shown in the filming of a play in which Mme. Sarah Bernhardt played a part. From then on the standards were raised and the cinema was given a new lease of life.

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[1] In a memorandum to the Committee of the League of Nations on Intellectual Co-operation.

Yet when we look to the influence of the picture-house on the schoolboy of to-day we do not think of the pictures he goes to see as high pieces of dramatic art. Such may indeed be seen on the screen ; but on the whole the merit of the cinema, if it exists, must be elsewhere, for all too many picture-plays are but very poor specimens of plot and acting. Yet it has been found that children who go frequently to the picture-house possess a wide knowledge which shows itself in such subjects as geography, history, natural science, industrial processes, current events—to mention only some of the ways in which this knowledge is manifest.[1]

The influence on a boy's mind of the average film is not the influence of a Shakespearean play, or of a famous piece of music, or of a masterpiece of painting. Its influence must be sought for in that it is the boy's way of gaining experience—an experience that otherwise he would find outside his reach and belonging to a different sphere of life. When the American psychologist, Stanley Hall, conducted his famous investigation on the content of children's minds, he found the subjects of his experiments singularly and alarmingly ignorant of even the commonest of natural objects. As a result of the conclusions drawn from his investigation he held that the best preparation for school life that a parent can give a child is to acquaint him with natural objects—particularly those of the countryside. But how is the slum child of the big city to get to know of these things ? Obviously the crowds of youngsters at the cheap entrances of the picture theatres on Saturday afternoons show that the slum child has largely solved the problem on his own.

That the attendance of children at the cinema is not viewed by all in this light is evidenced by the frequent pronouncements of magistrates on the subject. To these gentlemen the cinema seems to be the cause of most of the juvenile crime of the cities ; the children learn from

[1] English Cinema Commission of Inquiry.

the pictures how to commit thefts, and it is thought that they frequently commit these thefts to satisfy their desire for money that they may go to the picture house.

That a child sometimes develops a craze for the pictures must be admitted, but that this craze frequently leads to juvenile crime is not at all so certain. A child is much more frequently led to crime by the bad example of some parents or by the almost equally harmful carelessness of others. Then again, a class of about fifty young children, when questioned as to their favourite films by the present writer, were unanimous in declaring for "cowboy pictures" and for Tom Mix as their favourite "star". They did not show any leaning towards the Raffles type of hero, nor love for any phases of the cinema except those that showed them the things of life which were in keeping with their youthful nature—the rolling prairies and the galloping horses.

Here we may be met with the argument that many of the films showing at the picture houses are unfit for young minds. Such is certainly the case; but, then, we have already seen that the child's mind is not interested in these things, and hence the child in the city with several picture houses to choose from will go to the one showing his favourites and will leave severely alone the one showing the shoddy sex drama.[1]

On the whole, then, the commercial picture house exercises an indirect influence on the child which is beneficial to his intellectual development. Is the direct influence of the cinema when used in the schoolroom equally or more beneficial?

The Cinema in the Schoolroom

It is a far cry from the educational practice of to-day to the Orbis Pictus of Comenius, and still farther to the sand writing, as a substitute for the blackboard, in the

[1] I have proved this by asking a class of schoolboys to write an essay on their favourite films. Such things were omitted completely.

open-air village schools of India; but in these we have early examples of the realisation of that same principle embodied in the school-cinema of modern pedagogy. The use of these aids to teaching is occasioned by the fact that verbal instruction does not give accurate knowledge unless supported and supplemented by experiences with concrete material, and, as we know from common experience, the eye takes precedence over all the other sense organs in regard to the knowledge gained of the objective world—a truth borne out by the testimony of the psychologists. Here we have at once the reason for the employment of visual aids in the schoolroom and a possible justification of the use of the cinema among them. However, the opinions expressed on this matter are so varied as to make it necessary that we look closer before accepting the moving picture as part of the apparatus of the school.

We have on the one hand those expressions of thought on the subject that point to the cinema as the solution of all the problems of the schoolmaster. This school of thought is typified by Thomas A. Edison and H. G. Wells, who are enthusiastically in favour of the new medium of instruction.

> I for one am convinced that for the future the motion picture is to forward our campaign against illiteracy as nothing else that has been adapted to the classroom . . . . The only text-books needed will be for the teacher's own use . . . . Pupils will learn from films everything there is, from the lowest grade to the highest.—(*Thomas A. Edison*).

> All that your teacher need do now is to spend five minutes getting out the films he wants, ten minutes reading over the corresponding lecture notes, then he can run the film, question the class, note what they miss and how they take it, and run the film again, and get out for subsequent study diagrams and pictures needed to fix the lesson.—(*H. G. Wells*).

On the other hand we have those thinkers who regard the use of the cinema educationally as ridiculous and positively harmful.

> At best the current history, science and travel that can be

flashed upon the screen is a mere smattering. Princes have found that there is no royal road to knowledge, and Americans may as well learn that it cannot come *via* the armchair . . . . " (Editorial, *New York Times*, July, 1921).

Seeing may do away with the necessity for doing; films amuse; they make education too easy." (C. E. Turner in an article " An Evaluation of Visual Education.")

Teachers as a class are usually very doubtful of new innovations in the schoolroom, and very conservative in their opinions, but there is frequently an excuse for their conservatism in the too-enthusiastic opinions of those who, like Wells and Edison, hail the new departure with such over-statements. That the conclusions we arrive at may be founded on more solid ground than that of mere opinion, we shall look to the results of investigations on this question of using motion-pictures in the schoolroom.

One such investigation was conducted by the sub-committees appointed by the English Cinema Commission of Inquiry. These sub-committees went thoroughly into the question of the cinema in the schoolroom by means of elaborate and carefully conducted experiments. This research was, according to the published report, " a strenuous attempt to defeat the cinema on its own ground."[1] Two series of experiments were conducted: the first to compare the motion-picture and the lantern slide as teaching mediums, the second to compare five types of lessons, viz. :—

(1) Film alone without comment of any kind.
(2) Lantern slides alone without comment of any kind.
(3) Film with running commentary from teacher.
(4) Slides with running commentary from teacher.
(5) The purely oral lesson.

The method of testing the effectiveness of each lesson was to get the pupils to write an essay on the matter learned and to assign marks, not to the essay as a whole but to each statement made therein—*i.e.*, to the amount

[1]Report: " The Cinema in Education " (p. 89).

of knowledge shown by the pupil on the selected topic. The school subjects selected for purposes of experiment were Nature Study, Geography and Industry.

It is impossible here to go into the details of the experiments, but it may be remarked that conditions were against the films in every way—the slides were well prepared, sub-titles were plentifully inserted to explain them, while the oral lessons were thoroughly prepared by the teachers, and even in the writing of the essays the films were handicapped since the more complete and correct detail acquired from the motion-picture could not appear in the limited essays written by the children. Yet, in summing up, the Report states that the cinema has "from every point of view a well marked advantage for educational purposes." The final published figures (total marks) appeared :—

(1) Film alone 81·5%. (2) Slides alone 57·4%
(3) Film talk 90·6% (4) Slides talk 77·5%
(5) Oral 57·9%

Similar results were arrived at experimentally by American investigators, notably J. H. Weber[1] who dealt with four methods of instruction—the text-book, the oral lesson, the film lesson, and the film with the teacher's accompanying comments. Weber states :—

> The averages of the film-lecture presentation are almost invariably higher than any of the other three methods. It may be safe now to assert that the value of the picture as an aid to teaching stands proved.

An Official Commission of the Republic of France declared for the usefulness of the film in instruction, and assigned to it a very wide sphere in the teaching of the different subjects of the school curriculum.

While much investigation is still needed on the question of the cinema in the schoolroom—particularly on such

[1]Other American investigators who declared in favour of the superiority of the cinema in the school were Professor J. W. Shepherd (University of Oklahoma) and Eugene E. Nifenecker (New York City). On the other hand John V. Lacy (writing in the *Teachers College Record*) held to the superiority of the oral lesson.

questions as the extent to which it should replace the older teaching methods, the best methods of producing educational films, and the best methods of using them when produced—yet sufficient evidence is already available from the tests previously conducted to point conclusively to the solution of the main problem of the cinema's utility. We may safely conclude that the motion-picture is a powerful educational instrument and one whose potentialities are yet to be largely developed.

However, the far-fetched statements made by the extremists in favour of the school-cinema make it necessary to bear in mind that the instrument has and will have serious limitations. The idea that the film would replace the teacher is met by the French Commission with the answer: "Films should not replace teacher or text-book, but should be used as auxiliaries." This answer is particularly interesting in view of the other statement made by the same Commission that "films should be used in all branches of education," which shows that the limitations they suggest do not arise from any under-statement of the function of the film but rather from a true appreciation of it. We must also remember that the coming of the printing machine and the consequent universal use of the text-book wrought a greater change in educational practice than ever the cinema is likely to do, and yet it did not render the teacher unnecessary. The pupil of to-day depends on the living force of the teacher's word, as did the students gathered around Abelard or some other of the great masters. A mechanical device cannot instil the living force of the human being, nor can it deal with the individual wants and peculiarities of the learner.

Other limitations, which deserve fuller consideration, are those imposed on the school-cinema by reason of the fact that this invention has not yet been sufficiently exploited as an educational medium. Thus there is the question of the films to be used. Many good films have

already been produced by the trade; but on the whole "interest and variety, rather than true educational purpose, have been the function of the so-called educational film hitherto shown."[1] Here for example are a half-dozen subjects taken consecutively from the educational section of a trade list:—Fathoms Deep Beneath the Sea; Skilled Insect Artisans; The Hunting Spider; A Flyfisher's Festival; Hands Versus Feet; A Holiday Cruise to Norway.

These films would, of course, be of interest and would be of use for the school-cinema, but more than this is required before they fully meet the approval of the educationalist. It is necessary that films should be produced which would, as their primary purpose, help the teacher with the school curriculum—not to form, as the present-day trade film libraries do, a kind of cinema scrap-book with no attempt at unification of the items.

The mechanical and financial difficulties also would largely disappear if the school cinema were more fully developed. At present the demand for educational films is so small that the charges are high, and (as we saw above) the films are largely unsuitable. The machines also are dear, and the question of danger from fire and the consequent exorbitant insurance charges are likely to prevent many school authorities from considering the matter. This difficulty of danger from fire is now being solved by the use of non-inflammable films, and the use of the smaller machines taking 16 m.m. film may largely solve the question of cost,[2] also that of portability and ease of handling.

Films have been objected to also on the ground that eye-strain results from their use. This is so in the case

[1] Report of Cinema Experts Sub-Committee (English Commission).

[2] My remarks here are intended to be general and not intended for any one country. With regard to the Irish Free State conditions, it is interesting to note the following information supplied me by a firm dealing with private exhibitors of educational films:—". . . . Owing to the various customs requirements, duty fees, etc., incurred on hiring the —— Library Film the charge is prohibitive (*i.e.*, in Free State). Not only that, but there is considerable delay."

of the exceptional child whose eyes are already defective. The objection is largely a matter of the past; the film of to-day, if properly used and kept free from scratches, etc., should not cause eye-strain. Also we may look to the daylight screen as a development, the perfection of which in the future will eliminate altogether this danger.

Those who advance against the cinema the argument that it makes learning too easy, that "seeing may do away with the necessity for doing," are not very clear in their remarks. If the cinema were to be the only educational instrument and if its use were to lead to mere passive receptivity, then it should certainly stand condemned, since all learning must proceed from and end in activity. On the other hand, the true view of the cinema is that it is to be regarded as an aid in the teaching process, and as such the fact that it makes learning easier is an argument in its favour. As Sir John Adams remarks, there will always remain the irreducible surd of difficulty which the pupil must conquer for himself notwithstanding all efforts to smooth his path.

A similar answer is applicable to the objections (chiefly put forward in connection with literature and the films) that the cinema induces superficial thinking and that it dulls the imagination. These opinions would be justified by the facts if the cinema were the sole or main method of instruction, but as an aid it is not any more objectionable (rather less so) than the picture in the printed text. Provided that the pupil reads the literary work being dealt with, it will not dull his imagination to see the screen version—rather it will provide material for the interpretation of the printed word.

It may now be well to survey very briefly the work done in various countries in providing cinematographs for the schools.

France: The Commission already referred to was established in 1916 and reported in 1920. It was recom-

mended that cinemas be established as quickly as possible in all schools, that the training colleges give instruction on the use of the cinematograph and act as distributing centres of films. These recommendations have been largely carried out, and France has shown a world lead in this matter.

United States: As early as 1907, government departments were employing the cinema for popular instruction. In 1917 a Rural Service was established, and portable projection sets were sent around among the rural communities. The city schools are being provided with projectors, and the universities are taking a prominent part in the work of investigation and in producing suitable films—at least ten of the big universities are directly or indirectly engaged on this work.

Holland: State-aided picture houses at which the children attend during school hours is the solution in some Dutch towns.

Denmark: Approximately 10 per cent. of the schools have cinema appliances.

The cinema is finding its way into the educational schemes of Norway, Sweden, the British Colonies, and various other countries. English conservatism, however, has not advanced far in the development of the school cinema. The report of the English Cinema Commission of Inquiry is a valuable one, but this is the product of philanthropic effort and not of government support. Some of the cities are realising the uses of the cinema in education, but the country as a whole is not making any marked advance.

JOHN P. REARDON.

THE CINEMA AND THE ADULT

BY C. C. MARTINDALE, S.J., M.A.

THIS article does not profess to be a complete discussion of the cinema. However, I premise that the opinions expressed are sincerely entertained. And I premise that I sympathise to the full with tired or very poor people who find in the " pictures " genuine relaxation, and escape from the appalling monotony of so much of modern life. And again, I am not speaking of the cinema as it could be used and no doubt is—*e.g.*, in schools, for helping children's imaginations to lay hold of what they could often not otherwise understand or realise; geography, science, natural history, can obviously be taught all the better for a certain use of the cinema: though at once I must recall how much history may be mis-taught by the same means: a perfectly unhistorical film concerned with Luther was about to be released some time ago, but the German Catholics, I think, protested and it was suppressed.[1] The huge film *Intolerance* was obviously a propagandist film, and was full of a false historical perspective. Finally, films *can* be extremely beautiful, amusing, and interesting. I recently saw one of incredible beauty, concerned with two hostile American Indian tribes; they ended by making friends because a man belonging to one of them " struck oil," and so the other allowed him to marry a girl belonging to it, inasmuch as each tribe got a lot of money, embarked on a career of financial prosperity (hideous outlook), and thus acquired (as the final caption idiotically stated) " Heaven's Greatest Gift—Tolerance." Apparently one learns to put up with anything provided the price be good enough. However, to come to the point, which

[1] The press now say, it is to be produced with, perhaps, " minor cuts," but that the " selling of Absolution " cannot be suppressed, as it is " historical."

is, the effect of the cinema upon the enormous majority of the millions who contemplate its pictures.

I hold that that effect is bad, and that it so acts upon human minds as to render improvement difficult.

The cinema, to start with, acts by mass-suggestion. The same pictures are offered to the eyes, and their suggestion is unthinkingly absorbed as no suggestion in human history has ever been absorbed. The cinema *asks* you not to think. I first realised this when a man said to me that he liked the pictures because " you never need do no thinking. Pulls you along, the pictures does." A very cultured lady said exactly the same thing to me lately, in slightly better grammar, but in all-but just those self-same words: and as I hinted, I go on and off to the pictures when I am very tired—much too tired to read, and quite undesirous of reflecting. How the mass of people can be helped to think is a different question; but the cinema begs you not to trouble to do so. I appreciate Mr. A. Housman's remark when a listener had informed him that his theory had " made him think a minute ": " I sympathise. Thought is painful; and a minute is a *very* long time." It mayn't have been Mr. Housman; but on the other hand it quite possibly could have been.

It is demonstrable that newspapers themselves like articles to be shorter and shorter. They ask you to write " three inches " on so and so. They give the gist of the article in head-lines. Many people read nothing else. I often don't myself. The picture element in such papers increases yearly. Queer paradox—the more people become able to read, the less they want to. Inertia. It is, really, much *easier* to drop your *h*'s. Look at American. It is so much easier to say " I gonna " than " I'm going to," " I wanna " than " I want to," " prinnud " than " printed " (this last example from a " talkie "), that I suppose people soon will both speak so and write so—who can pull himself up on the slippery

plane? But this anticipates. I really do mean that in our period of "make it easy," that most laborious occupation, *thinking*, needs every help; and the cinema does it every kind of dis-service.

I hold, then, that the cinema is an assault upon Thinking, and in consequence upon Speaking. I might also argue that it is an assault upon memory, based on the fact that I can very seldom find that East End (of London) young men with whom I consort in a club there, remember the names of the films they have seen. I confess they develop a certain sharpness or intuition of the film technique. The other day I took two of them to a film (because the exhibition I wanted to take them to —oh, not at all a high-brow one—was shut). The heroine drank a bottle labelled conspicuously Poison. "O' course," one of them said, "she's kidding them. It ain't really poison." Nor was it. I had been lamenting the poor young creature's imminent demise. (I always regard films as real life—else what good are they?) But these lads knew just what film-technique exacted at the moment. This was a fake-film-suicide. But on coming out, I found they could not remember that film at all: it had come first. All they remembered was that Pim Pix (or some other famous actor) had appeared in the *last* film, nor could they recall what *that* one was *about*.

Even allowing that films act upon the imagination and therefore emotionally, I think they add to the psychological disintegration of the average onlooker by providing a rapid succession of mutually disparate emotions. After a romantic film, he cries: "I do hope this next one's a Comic." And after an Uplift film, they sigh: "Gawd! I *do* hope this next one 'll be an 'Orror!" They leave the theatre having been tossed about on waves of emotionalism, without having got anywhere even emotionally.

Even when the onlooker cries (after looking at a cowboy, a redskin, a virtuous crook . . .) "I do wish I

could be like *him*," they know that in their ordinary life it's not the slightest good expecting to be "like him," let alone trying to be anything corresponding to him: so they don't try; they don't hope; the cinema saps their will for ordinary life. Here then we have Memory, Intelligence and Will weakened by the cinema.

I come then to my main objection to the cinema. I regard it as *standardising* the imagination of the "white" world, and standardising it *downwards;* and as debauching the imagination of the brown, yellow and black worlds.

Do I regard the films as sexually lowering (this is a parenthesis, because my objection to their moral effect is far more general than the sexual one)? Yes, after a fashion. Actual films (since we can regard exotic entertainments as sufficiently few as not to count in an argument, and as too expensive for nearly everyone save seamen) cannot be said to outrage decency. But I think they undermine morality. They are "soft" to an extent which weakens the outworks of virtue. I have had it explained to me how many thousands of feet are annually cut out of films by censors of one kind or another. But when that is in the *mind* of the producer, it energises backwards and forth, and the excised part sends its influence into what precedes and follows it. On the whole, films don't go "too far," but they go so far "as they dare." The colossal change in literature (even in many books published in Ireland or by Irishmen) cannot fail to be observed—sometimes the change strikes one abruptly and one is startled. What is written in books will be suggested in films, and is.

But more generally. Films are, and on the whole must be, pagan. No one expects to find Christian principles as such set forth in a cinema. Even when by chance they are, you have to be provided with the contrast, which is always much more interesting. The contrast usually is the suggestion that lawlessness is

exciting, and that money is what counts. Even when the scene is the dining-room of the wicked Vampire (who perishes miserably by morphia) and of her crook friends (who get arrested), you hear the comment: "Wouldn't I like to have half their money!" The suggestion is that the "gay" life is the "real" life. I believe it to be demonstrable that this notion has been responsible for a lot of downright emigration. I am sure that the peasant populations of much of Europe (Croatia, Slovenia, Hungary, Poland, Lithuania) really do think that if they go to the U.S.A., they will be drinking champagne in no time. What happens to them is a slum or the streets. But generalising this, I hold that the film-world comes to be regarded all too easily as the real world: the day's job seems a regrettable interlude from which you escape so soon as possible to "see a bit o' *life*," *i.e.*, the Pictures.

Economically, the results must be incalculable. The idea of thrift disappears. The money goes in cinemas. I was given the statistics of money spent on cinema tickets in Australia. Given the population is six millions, it was terrific. Of course they have no money left for having children. I am often appalled by the lessening of drunkenness *not out of principle* but because it interferes, if you spend money in pubs, with going to the pictures. Even sexual morality seems, for a while, to improve, because the pictures are supplanting "walking out." But that does not last. In my opinion, the cinema is responsible for a far worse disillusionment after a year or two. Middle-age seems to me to supply the problem, now, rather than youth. Youth is still full of visions: for middle-age, they have all of them faded, and so has hope. Then you become sodden; then the baseness of sex asserts itself.

But the remoter, peasant-inhabited districts of Europe make for me a bridge to the East and to other parts. True, the East is (in patches) with appalling

rapidity adopting European manners. The Turk now wears a cap—in one day, I have read, twenty train-loads of nothing but caps came from Vienna-way to Angora-way. But after the preliminary shock of seeing that white men —and especially white women—are "like that," the Oriental either develops a terrific contempt for all that is European (religion included), or collapses into the worst version of our pseudo-scientific, demoralised, agnostic "civilisation." I have watched an Arab audience in a cinema. They left me in no doubt as to their sentiments. What is the effect on Indians, on Chinese ?

A word about the Talkies. I confess I have seen only one of them, and they may improve. Perhaps the American voice will not standardise our voices—I confess I was astounded to observe (before anyone mentioned the subject to me : many did, afterwards) how Americanised Sydney had become. May I insist that in a thousand ways we ought to be grateful to the United States ; but I do not know that *Americanisation via the films* (which is what alone I am speaking of) can be a good thing for anyone. I incline to think that in any case the Talkies are, and must be, an impossible attempt to fuse two arts. Anyhow, if they oust the theatre, I think the result will be just as degrading as the substitution of gramophone music for a real orchestra, or for real singing. I have met educated people who insist that the former is "just as good" as the human thing. Tragic example that the degradation is already accomplished—the human ear, the human mind, cannot detect the difference—the all-from-all difference !

I think then that the cinema, as it exists and operates, is harmful religiously, socially, artistically, morally, psychologically too in many ways—in fact in all the ways that count. Hence I go to it—which I seldom do, but with terrific enjoyment when I do !—with a most anxious conscience.

C. C. Martindale.

EPHESUS, PAGAN AND CHRISTIAN

BY MICHAEL TIERNEY, M.A.
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THE great Greek cities of ancient Anatolia have mostly disappeared from our modern maps. Their names, twisted to uncouth forms, may still survive here and there attached to a straggling village or a group of crumbling ruins, but little or nothing is left to remind a distant age that this region was once the centre of civilisation, crowded with populous towns, famous temples, and wealthy harbours, and traversed by great roads which carried the commerce of more than half the world. History itself has not been kind to the Greeks of Asia Minor; only vague fragmentary rumours of their life and achievements have echoed to our times. We know that European civilisation began among the Ionians, and that they handed on to Athens the scientific and artistic traditions upon which we still subsist. But the pre-eminent glory of Athens has dimmed somewhat the record of her teachers and rivals; we are apt to think of her as Greece, and to forget that she was only one city, and a somewhat peculiar one, out of many. Greek history was largely written by Athenians or their admirers, and until the last century, scholars who would learn of Miletus or of Ephesus had to piece together the fitful references of geographers, poets, and grammarians, which told in snatches something of their peripheral existence. Archaeology has done much to remedy the defects of written tradition, but even yet the story of these once great communities and their varied life of many centuries is only in process of partial recovery.

Few cities of equal importance have suffered so much from the ravages of time and forgetfulness as Ephesus, and few have been less deserving of even comparative

oblivion. For a thousand years it was, as Pliny described it, "alterum lumen Asiae," the second light of Asia; indeed for a great part of that time it had no rival in Asia at all. The Acts of the Apostles have familiarised almost everybody with "Diana of the Ephesians," whose votaries rioted because St. Paul was destroying the majesty of her "whom all Asia and the world worshippeth." The great temple of the Ephesian Artemis, whom the Romans called Diana, was already ancient in St. Paul's day, and it was only the last in a succession of shrines which stretched back to the beginning of history. Ephesus had been for ten centuries the city of Artemis, the original site from which her cult had spread to Rome itself, to Marseilles, and all over the world. When St. Paul spent two years in the city organising the third Eastern Church after Jerusalem and Antioch, the city was the economic capital of Roman Asia, its greatest harbour and the starting point of its road-system, and had a population of at least half a million.

After St. Paul's time Ephesus remained great and wealthy for two centuries. When stricken by the first Gothic irruption into the Aegean world in 262 A.D., it began to exchange its glory as the city of Artemis for a new renown as a place of Christian pilgrimage. St. John the Evangelist had spent his last years there, and with him the Blessed Virgin herself, and the tombs of both were shown in Ephesus. Timothy had been its first Bishop, and legend added to its shrines the tombs of St. Luke and St. Mary Magdalen. As its worldly prosperity decayed, its fame as a holy city only increased. In the great Council of 431 A.D. the divinity of the Saviour and Our Lady's Greek title of Theotókos, "Mother of God," were vindicated against Nestorius in the double church of St. John and the Virgin at Ephesus. Justinian in the sixth century built on a hill to the north-east of the ancient city a great Basilica over the tomb of St. John the Theologian. The name of this Basilica became

that of the whole city in Byzantine times, and to-day the Turkish name for Ephesus is still Ayasulük, "The Holy Theologian." All through the Middle Ages Christian Ephesus was visited by pilgrims. Almost as famous as the tombs of the Virgin and St. John were those of the Seven Holy Children, whom the Western world knows as the Seven Sleepers. The tale of their hundred-and-eighty years' miraculous sleep seems to have become popular first in the fifth century. The cave where it took place was the centre of a great series of catacombs, unique in Asia, which are only now being fully explored. Through the incorporation of their story in the Koran, the Holy Children became the object of Muslim veneration also, and continued so till modern times.

The recovery of the buried fragments of pagan and Christian Ephesus has been the work of the last half-century. It began with the explorations of Wood for the British Museum in 1863. Only in 1869, after much effort, was the Artemision, the great temple of Artemis, discovered. In 1874 the Museum broke off the excavations. Twenty years later, in 1894, the Austrian Archaeological School began the systematic exploration of the city itself. In 1904-5 a couple of seasons' new work by the British Museum unearthed the earliest foundations of the Artemision. The Austrian scholars, whose task was interrupted by the war, resumed operations in 1926, and during the past few years have made many interesting discoveries, notably that of the catacombs about the cave and church of the Seven Sleepers. In 1921-3 the Greek Archaeological Society cleared the site of Justinian's great Basilica and the tomb of St. John. While there are considerable materials available for the history of later Greek and Roman Ephesus, much still remains to be discovered about the archaic city and about its early Christian period. The excavations now in progress have already given very interesting results and promise much more.

Ephesus owed its ancient greatness principally to two causes, its harbour and its goddess, and to both it clung with all its might when history and nature itself were depriving it of them. The site of the city is now some miles inland, and nineteenth century historians conceived of Ephesus as having been always separated from the sea. The discovery of its character as a seaport is due to the leader of the first Austrian excavation. Like its early rival Miletus, Ephesus was gradually ruined by its own river. In the eleventh century B.C., when the city was founded, its harbour was provided by the tidal mouth of the Cayster, the central of the three rivers of Ionia, and the plain which is now a pestilential marsh was covered by a wide arm of the sea, with a narrow entrance to the West. Five hundred years later this first harbour was turning into a swamp and was no longer serviceable. After two more centuries, the city itself had to be shifted westwards, leaving its temple which had once been near the sea, high and dry a mile to the east. A new harbour was constructed, but this was subject to silting from its beginnings. A mole was built in a mistaken attempt to deepen it by retaining the water, but only served to retain the silt, and made matters worse. In the end the harbour was noteworthy for its completely artificial character, and was only kept clear by constant effort and great expense. During the general collapse of the third century A.D., and particularly after the Gothic raid of 262 which destroyed the temple, the process of decay was accentuated. The final ruin must have come in the fourth century, about the time when the work of dethroning Artemis, begun under such protests from her citizens by St. Paul, was being completed. In the reign of Arcadius (395-408 A.D.) the great main street running from the Theatre to the harbour was repaired and called by the Emperor's name, Arkadiané. In the same reign (406) we are told that St. John Chrysostom caused the still living cult of Artemis to be suppressed. After this

time, the harbour soon became an insalubrious morass; the Fathers of the Council of 431 found Ephesus both unbearably hot and extremely unhealthy. In the middle of the next century, the building of the great Basilica of St. John the Theologian on the hill now called Ayasulük, just east of the ancient Artemision, marked the definite abandonment of the city's maritime existence; during the middle ages it centred round the Byzantine fortress on this hill. At the present day, the harbour is an expanse of reeds which make a vast eerie sound when stirred by the wind.

It is impossible to estimate the length of the period during which Artemis was worshipped at her Ephesian shrine. The Greek legends tell of the city's foundation by an Athenian colony, whose leader was son of the King of Athens, in the beginning of the eleventh century B.C. But these legends themselves leave no doubt that this colony found the site already occupied. The names of its earlier occupants were variously given as Amazons, Leleges, and Carians. The first of these names belongs to Greek folklore, and may just possibly contain a picturesque reminiscence of Hittite rule. In any case there is no doubt but that this puzzling race of conquerors were in control of the whole region for a thousand years before the Greeks came. The Leleges and Carians are more historical; the first were mentioned as the primitive population in many parts of Greece itself and the Aegean islands, but had no separate existence in later times, the second race occurs equally as an element in the pre-Greek Aegean population, and was later localised in the region of Asia Minor south of Ionia. What is most interesting about them is their probable kinship with the Cretans of the Bronze Age whom we have learned to call Minoans. This kinship is certainly reflected in the character of the Goddess of Ephesus.

The Acts of the Apostles tell us that the votaries of Artemis believed her image, which was still revered in

her temple, to have originally fallen from the sky. As it appears to have been made of gilded wood, this tradition is questionable, but it indicates the extreme antiquity of the image. The attributes of the goddess, as we know them from the earliest Greek representations of her, leave no doubt that in origin she is identical with the principal divinity of Minoan Crete, whom scholars are accustomed, for want of her earliest name, to call the Mistress of Animals. She is represented in a heraldic posture on Cretan gems, holding an animal on either side, and is clearly a nature-divinity, powerful at once over life and destruction, birth and death, to slay and to save. The Greeks sometimes worshipped Artemis as Kourotrophos, the Nurse of the Young, and this is one of her Cretan aspects also. In primitive Greece and Crete she is associated somehow with a male god, who may be called the Master of Animals, and has the same dual functions as her own. This is the later Greek Apollo; and when we remember that Apollo was the god of Colophon, nearest neighbour to Ephesus, and linked by the closest bonds with her Artemis, we need not hesitate to believe that as legend found a direct Cretan origin for Colophon, so the tradition of Leleges and Carians at Ephesus points to a Cretan origin for her also.

In the hills to the west of Ephesus, just south of the entrance to her harbour, there was a place called Ortygia, reputed in local myth to be the spot where their mother Leto gave birth to both Artemis and Apollo. Whether there was an earlier settlement there we cannot tell, but it was always venerated as a holy place by the Ephesians, and when Artemis and Leto were forgotten, pious Armenian pilgrims localised there the tomb of Our Lady. We do not yet know the origin of these names—Artemis, Apollo and Leto—which meet us equally early both in Greece and Asia Minor, but may guess that they too were Cretan. Ephesus and Colophon did not specifically acknowledge in later times any external origin for their

local divinities; both were self-sufficient, Ephesus becoming the source of many widespread cults, and the Clarian Apollo of Colophon growing even to threaten the supremacy of Delos and Delphi themselves, and to find devotees in Roman times as far off as Britain and Numidia. Local conditions undoubtedly influenced the religious ideas which underlay both cults, and Artemis in particular owed many of her later attributes to Oriental sources. In Cretan art the Mistress of Animals is not winged, as she is always in early Ephesus; and again the celebrated cult-type with many breasts seems to have been developed gradually at Ephesus itself under the influence of the native Great Mother of Anatolia. The recent discovery in the heart of Ephesus of a shrine of Zeus, Cybele, and Attis, serves to emphasise this influence.

The Greek tradition told how the Athenian settlers drove the natives of the place from the upper city, on the slopes of the hill running parallel to the southern bank of the Cayster, which the ancients called Pion and the Turks call Panayir-Dagh or Hill of the Blessed Virgin, down towards the shrine of Artemis, a mile north-east. The two groups very soon mingled to form one community, however, and it was notable as perhaps the most mixed of all the Greek communities on that coast. Little is known as yet of the earliest city, though the Austrians have now found plentiful traces of it between Pion and the river. Stray historical references tell us of the heterogeneous origin of its tribes, of the fact that it shared with Colophon the significant distinction of not keeping the festival ceremony of the Apatouria, in which all other Ionian cities celebrated their common origin; of its temporary conquest of Samos and its wars with Magnesia to the south.

Like other Ionian cities Ephesus had its own literature, producing in Callinus one of the earliest of the world's patriot-poets, and later in Hipponax the world's first

literary tramp, whose fragments, written in the "lame" verse of his own invention, are a striking record both of his miseries and of the very mixed Greek spoken by the people of Ephesus and their neighbours in the sixth century. But perhaps the most famous of all Ephesians was Heraclitus, the philosopher, who flourished about 500 B.C. He was the originator of the still active doctrine that "nothing ever is, all is becoming," and of the profound saying that "much learning does not teach sense." His teaching was renowned for its darkness, a feature kept up by his school, which lasted after him for a century, and greatly influenced Plato. Before its incorporation in the Persian Empire about 541 B.C. Ephesus, like nearly all Greek cities, had suffered the rule of many dictators. It was plundered about 660 B.C. by the Cimmerians, a wild horde of northern savages. A hundred years later it only saved itself from subjection to the Lydian king Croesus by tying itself with chains to the Artemision, whose goddess was too strong for the king. Later on the laws of the city were remodelled on a Solonian basis by an Athenian lawgiver, one of whose Ephesian disciples is reputed to have assisted in the formulation of the Twelve Tables at Rome. This was the second Ephesian contact with that city, whose cult of Diana on the Aventine was said to have been copied by King Servius Tullius from an offshoot of the Ephesian worship.

The history of the Artemision in the early period is better known than that of the city which grew up around it. The British Museum excavations of 1904-5 have shown that the earliest Artemision was an open court surrounded by a colonnade, with the ancient sanctuary in its centre. After the Cimmerian destruction in the seventh century continual building seems to have gone on, till finally, in the time of Croesus, about 550 B.C., work was begun on the great archaic temple often called by that King's name. It took a hundred and twenty

years to build, and on its final dedication the lyric poet Timotheos of Miletus, whose strange rhythms and stranger language have recently been revealed to us in a large fragment of his *Persae*, received a prize of a thousand pieces of gold for a commemorative ode. Herodotus tells us that King Croesus presented the temple with golden heifers and most of its columns, and an inscription on one of the latter guarantees this statement. It was probably the earliest Greek temple in the Ionic style, and for a long time had no equal except perhaps the great temple of Hera at Samos. Its most peculiar features were the sculptured pedestals bearing short columns on each side of its doorway, and the double rows of columns with sculptures on their lowest drums at its front and rear. Several fragments of these columns are now shown in the British Museum. Recent American investigations at Sardis, the capital of King Croesus, seem to prove that so far from being unique, as was once thought, these sculptured pedestals and columns were modelled on a Lydian original, and that the " Ionic " style itself may well have derived from Lydia.

After Croesus came the Persians, but here alone they venerated the Greek divinity instead of destroying her temple. Ephesus flourished under Persian rule, and was loath enough to join in the great revolt against it which convulsed the Aegean from 499 till 493 B.C. Nowhere else in Greek lands did Persia leave such an impress as in Ephesus. The mixed character of the city's population and the strong element of Orientalism both in her art and the cult of her goddess were probably both causes which predisposed her and her masters to mutual liking. Under Persia the worship of Artemis developed characteristics which never afterwards, even in the heyday of its Hellenism, altogether left it. We have of course only very fragmentary information on this worship, but can dimly glimpse something of the manner in which it was organised. During all this period it would be

more correct to say that the city belonged to the temple than *vice versa*. Ephesus had very much the character of the immemorial temple-cities of the East, where the divinity was completely dominant over the state. Artemis had hardly yet developed the full quality of universal motherhood which long afterwards produced the well-known many-breasted figures of her on coins and in statues; but her worship resembled in many ways that of the ancient goddesses, Cybele of Phrygia, Ma of Cappadocia, Ishtar of the Semitic peoples, and the Persian Anaitis. Her chief priest was a eunuch, a thing normally abhorrent to both Greek and Persian, but universal in Asia Minor; her priestesses were vowed to virginity. The existence of a highly organised priesthood about her temple, while of course not unknown even in primitive Greek shrines such as Dodona, was itself not a common Greek feature. In all probability her ritual, though not apparently involving the frenzied mutilations and obscene orgies of the indigenous deities, was also largely Asiatic in character.

One curious feature of her worship, unknown elsewhere, was its association with bees, possibly a specialisation from her old Cretan character as lady of all wild things. She is depicted as a bee on her early coins, and this remains the usual type during the Persian period, being only displaced by the classical Artemis-figure after Alexander's conquest. Sir William Ramsay, an eminent authority, even thinks that the mummy-like figure of the goddess found in sculpture and on a few coins, and later developing into the familiar many-breasted figure, was originally a kind of anthropomorphic bee. Her priestesses, if we can trust the scanty evidence, seem originally to have been called *Melissai*, "Bees." Persian influence is betrayed most clearly in the title of her High Priest, *Megabyzos*, a word whose meaning is uncertain; but side by side with him there was a college of minor priests, whose chief function seems to have been to pro-

vide or partake in a ritual banquet of some sort, and who were called *Essenes*. This mysterious word may or may not be akin to the name of the Jewish sect; at any rate we are told that in Ephesus it meant "Kings." Ramsay boldly suggests that the original temple-organisation was modelled on that of the hive, and translates *Melissai* as "Queen-Bees" and *Essenes* as "Drones." The Greeks, as readers of the *Georgics* will remember, took the queen-bee for a king; but Ramsay thinks that the Ephesians had a knowledge of the bee surpassing even Aristotle, and alone of the Greeks understood its life-history in a somewhat uncanny fashion. His theory is supported by the fact that the Essenes are also called *Histiatores*, "Feasters"; but their name itself is never explained as meaning anything other than "kings," nor does Ramsay account for the existence of the Megabyzos as High-Priest over the "hive."

The excavation of the earliest strata of the Artemision brought to light a series of reliefs in ivory and stone which in addition to being among the most interesting monuments of archaic Greek art, illustrate in a striking way the worship of the goddess and her priesthood. There are many representations of Artemis herself, mostly as the Mistress of Animals but with the addition of wings, and as the Kourotrophos with a child. Three famous little ivory figures seem to represent a priest and two priestesses. The priest is bland and smooth-faced, and wears a heavy embroidered robe, a high round hat, and a long necklace of huge stones which he holds fondly in both hands. One of the priestesses is peculiar for having set upright on her head a long pole with a hawk on top. These figures date from about 700 B.C., and their inspiration is clearly derived from Assyrian and Egyptian sources. Artemis of course owned much property; the most remarkable part of her estate was a lake whose fish were sacred to herself. Besides being a renowned shrine, her temple was also a wealthy bank, the repository of both

public and private treasures and centre of a profitable financial business, and a museum of jewellery and works of art which attracted no less attention than its gaily-painted sculpture and architecture. The goddess, one of whose functions was to protect all life, gave sanctuary to all manner of suppliants, and her shrine was probably the greatest asylum for fugitives in the whole ancient world. The bounds within which such unfortunates could claim inviolability were constantly extended by enthusiastic monarchs, till finally the city itself became infested with rogues, and they had to be confined to the close proximity of the goddess.

In the early fourth century B.C., when it had only been completed for about seventy years, the archaic temple was burnt to the ground. A citizen of Ephesus, eager for immortal fame and knowing no better way to achieve it, started the fire. A later loyalty declared that the disaster happened in 356 B.C. on the night when Artemis, nurturer of children, was away in Macedonia ushering Alexander the Great into the world. In any case Alexander assisted nobly in the rebuilding; the plans were made by his architect Dinocrates, who laid out Alexandria, and the new temple was even more wondrous than the old. It had Praxiteles and Scopas among its sculptors and Zeuxis among its painters. It repeated pretty exactly the architectural features of the older temple, including the peculiar sculptured pedestals and columns, and was finished by about 300 B.C. From that time till its destruction by the Goths in 262 A.D. it was counted among the wonders of the world, and enjoyed its greatest glory. The rioting against St. Paul was begun by one Demetrius a silversmith, whose trade in silver models of the temple was being ruined by the rapid spread of the new religion.

After Alexander's conquest the city also grew in glory with its goddess. Alexander's general Lysimachus compelled its inhabitants to move westwards to a new city,

which he laid out in great magnificence and supplied with a new harbour. It was contained between the Cayster, Mount Pion, and the high hill which runs back to meet the latter at right angles from the river. This was called by an Asianic name, Koressos; the Turks have given it the poetical appellation of Bulbul-Dagh, "Nightingale Hill." Along the top of this hill ran the western wall of Lysimachus; another wall surrounded Mount Pion to the south and east, and a great gate at its southern corner led to Magnesia, Sardis, and the interior of Asia Minor. Through this gate passed the yearly procession of the citizens to the Temple, a mile eastward, on the feast of Artemis. On the northern slope of Pion was built the Theatre, where the Jew Alexander tried to quell the mob that rioted against St. Paul. Between the Theatre and the Harbour ran the great main street of the city, and in this quarter also were the market-place and the Stadion. Ephesus became at last a Hellenic city; the priests of Artemis received Greek names; the Megabyzus was now called *Neokoros*, "temple-warden," the Essenes simply priests, and the Melissai *Parthenoi*, 'Maidens." Even the type of Artemis on her coins became Hellenised, and the bee remained only as a symbol.

From the time of Lysimachus, as long as her harbour lasted, Ephesus was in a real sense the capital of Asia Minor. She was a coveted prize between the Seleucids, who succeeded Lysimachus, and their rivals the Ptolemies. Her system of government varied according to which power got the upper hand; for the Seleucids favoured democracy, while the Ptolemies preferred a puppet dictator. Antiochus the Great, having established himself in Asia Minor, received at Ephesus both the suppliant Hannibal and the haughty ambassadors of Rome. When his bounds were set at Mount Taurus in 190 B.C., the Romans made over Ephesus to their allies of Pergamum. Under these, too, the city prospered. They were bourgeois trading monarchs and tried to lay hands on the sacred

fish; but they used Ephesus as their principal seaport, and her coins became their standard currency. One of them, in a well-meant attempt to improve her harbour, built a mole across it which only ruined it, but he provided another further west at the foot of Koressos, which continued effort kept free till the third century A.D.

After the Pergamene kingdom was made a Roman legacy in 133 B.C., Ephesus became the starting point of the Roman road system in Asia. Though the Ephesians, at the bidding of Mithradates, massacred all the Romans in their city in 88 B.C., they could not be deprived of their geographical advantages. Sulla, Julius Caesar, Brutus, Cassius, and Antony, all made Ephesus their headquarters. Under the Empire it became the seat of the Roman financial administration and of a provincial assembly, and the centre of the Imperial cult in Asia. Augustus cleverly contrived to associate his worship, which was the veritable cement of Empire, with that of the most important older divinities, and for the future Ephesus rejoiced in being not only Temple-Warden of Artemis, but also of the Caesars. The Emperor gave the city a splendid aqueduct, of which imposing remains still exist, and a new tribe called after himself. She continued to be a most favoured city for two centuries, and was treated with especial kindness by Hadrian and his successor; the latter gave her the title of First and Greatest Metropolis of Asia, which in fact she was. Her local government was popular under the Empire, with the regular machinery of Assembly and Senate; we meet her Town Clerk as a very influential official in the Acts of the Apostles.

Local tradition maintains that St. Paul spent part of his two years' Ephesian residence in prison, and points to a tower at the north-western end of the Lysimachean wall as the place of his confinement. The age of this tradition has yet to be established, but Deissmann goes so far as to maintain that the "Prison Epistles" were

written in Ephesus, not, as is generally held, at Rome. St. Paul's work in the city was in any case extraordinarily fruitful. He found there a community of Christians, " of the baptism of John," the converts of a very zealous Alexandrian called Apollos who afterwards became the indirect cause of the First Corinthian Epistle. Antiochus the Great had settled a colony of Jews here as in other cities ; many of these were practitioners of arts of healing and incantation akin to the magic for which Ephesus was famous. Some of them tried to use St. Paul's miraculous powers for their profit, with results disastrous to themselves and edifying to others, so that many thousand pounds worth of their magic books were given to the flames. All Asia hearkened to St. Paul's preaching, and Ephesus took on a new character as a centre of Christian piety. By the unfortunate accident of history her prosperity declined along with her cult of Artemis. The mediaeval city of the Holy Theologian had no commercial importance, and sometime in the 13th century fell almost unnoticed into the hands of the Seljuks of Aidin, whose great Mosque of Isa has to-day been overtaken by the same ruin that long ago overwhelmed both Pagan and Christian Ephesus.

MICHAEL TIERNEY.

CATHOLIC HOLLAND

BY FERGAL MCGRATH, S.J.

IN recent years Catholics throughout the world have been realising slowly that the popular representation of Holland as an almost exclusively Protestant country is a fiction. It is, however, a fiction that is dying hard. The distinguished journalist Kees van Hoek, London correspondent of the great Catholic daily *De Tijd*, referred to it recently as perennial. Mr. van Hoek contributed early this year a couple of articles to the *Standard*, in which he dealt trenchantly with the supposed exclusively Protestant character of Holland. The present article aims at doing the same work from the point of view of an ordinary observer who went to Holland a year ago with but a vague idea of the position of the Church in that country. A year's stay taught him in a most convincing fashion that the Church is the most powerful political, social and religious body in Holland to-day.

First of all, if you take the map of Holland, you will see that at its south-eastern extremity it runs down into a solid tongue of land that is Limburg. Go up along the right hand side of this tongue, following the German frontier as far as Nijmegen and Arnhem. Then turn to the west, coming down to 's Hertogenbosch, keep on to Dordrecht and the sea coast, and follow the coast southwards until you come back to Bergen op Zoom and the Belgian frontier. You have traced out a solid block of territory, in shape like an inverted mutton chop, the shank of which is Limburg. This territory, well over a quarter of Holland, is simply a Catholic country. There are, of course, numerous Protestants to be found scattered here and there, and as one goes north the proportion grows

steadily. Eindhoven and Tilburg, for instance, lying about the centre of this territory have respectively populations of 80,000 and 90,000, nearly all Catholics. Nijmegen has 80,000, with 60,000 Catholics, whereas in Arnhem, in the extreme north corner, out of a population of 80,000, the Protestants dominate with somewhat over half. But, speaking generally, this is a Catholic country, almost as Catholic as Ireland or Spain. In the little town in Geldern near which I lived, the burgomaster was a Catholic, the police were Catholics, the customs officers were Catholics, the post officials were Catholics. During the elections practically every shop window was filled with placards calling on the people to vote solid for the Catholic party. In Limburg and in Geldern the Catholic priest who comes from abroad with a preconceived notion of " Protestant " or " Calvinist " Holland is liable to get shocks. He goes for a walk, for instance, down the village street and suddenly there is a clatter of wooden shoes, and he is surrounded by an eager mob—no, not of hostile heretics thirsting for his blood, but of rosy-cheeked little boys and girls clamouring for the privilege of shaking hands with the " Pater." One by one they solemnly go through the ritual, rendered sometimes rather thrilling for the recipient of the honour by the fact that a piece of bread-and-jam has been hastily transferred from the right hand to the left. And if the traveller has any doubts after this as to whether he is in a Catholic country or not, he has only to look at the calvaries which in Limburg stand by the wayside.

So for a start we have over one quarter territorially of Protestant Holland solidly Catholic. North of this territory the Catholics are admittedly in a decided minority. There is one small region in the very remote north where they may be said to be practically non-existent. But in all the remaining parts of Holland, in the important districts along the west coast, and in the great cities, though a minority, they are a very considerable one.

In Amsterdam, for instance, out of a population of 700,000 they are about 150,000. In Rotterdam, out of 600,000 they are about 100,000. In Utrecht, out of 150,000 they are 50,000.

Before we leave this question of the territorial allocation of the Catholic population one interesting fact may be mentioned. Just north of Amsterdam, on the shores of the Zuyder Zee, is the picturesque province of Volendam. The costume of the Volendammers is familiar to everyone : the baggy trousers and round caps of the men, the multitudinous petticoats and starched linen caps of the women. In fact it is a popular superstition that this is the old traditional costume of the Dutch nation, so used are we to seeing it in musical comedies and on Christmas cards. In point of fact, it is but one amongst many traditional costumes. In Marken, for instance, the men's baggy nether garments reach only to the knee (a kind of rudimentary plus fours), and in Zeeland the costume is that of a stage pirate—loose breeches and jacket of corduroy, a huge leather belt with silver buckle, hair worn long at the sides and greased into stiff lovelocks, the whole surmounted by a three-cornered hat. In Brabant and Geldern the women's caps are of completely different shapes from those of Volendam. But Volendam (through love, alas, not of Holland, but of tourists) has preserved its native dress more entirely than any other province, and for some reason or other has imposed its costume on the minds of the manufacturers of Christmas cards, children's mugs, and musical comedies as being *the* traditional costume of Holland. Now the interesting point is that the Volendammers to a man (and of course to a woman) are staunch Catholics. Their province constitutes a curiously isolated oasis in the otherwise predominantly Protestant regions of the north. Let us trust that this revelation will not deter old ladies of strict evangelical views from buying any more pictures of those jolly little Dutch girls and boys, who seem to spend all their time

skating arm-in-arm on frozen canals with windmills in the background. We can vouch for it that, in spite of their allegiance to the Vatican, they are just as jolly in reality as they look on the Christmas cards.

Territorially, then, the Catholics occupy a very considerable part of Holland. Numerically they are also a very considerable body. The latest statistics at my disposal give their total number as 2,444,583, about 35 per cent. of the whole population. Protestants number 52 per cent. and Socialists 13 per cent. But through their unity and organisation the Catholics exercise a power altogether greater than their numbers would lead one to expect. This becomes clear from a brief summary of the results of the elections held at the beginning of last July. In Holland the government is practically entirely in the hands of the Lower Chamber. Of its 100 seats the Catholic party captured 30. The Conservative Protestants are divided into two parties, the anti-revolutionaries with 12 members, and the "Christelijk Historische" party with 11. These three make up the "Right" wing of the Chamber. Against them are marshalled 24 Socialists, 7 Free Democrats, 8 Liberals and 8 representatives of smaller parties. One sees at a glance how the solid body of Catholic members holds a commanding position, nor is it surprising to learn that Jonkheer Ruijs de Beerenbrouck, who had been Minister President in the second-last Parliament, has again been called upon by the Queen to form a Cabinet. It is only when one is in Holland during the elections that one realises what an extraordinary feat it is to keep the mass of Catholic voters together and prevent the phalanx from becoming a mob. I believe that well over 95 per cent. of the possible Catholic voters voted solidly for the Catholic party. When we realise that this involves the finding of a common platform for miner and mineowner, farmer and farm-labourer, manufacturer and factory hand, one realises what a triumph of organisation the continued victories of the Catholic party at the polls

really are. This time the success in the industrial district of Limburg was extraordinary. The Catholics polled 82 per cent. of the available votes as compared with 78 per cent. in 1925, whilst the Socialist vote fell from 13 per cent. to 10 per cent. In the whole of Holland the Catholics polled 29·57 per cent., as compared with 28·62 per cent. in 1925.

Possibly the first occasion on which the powerful unity of the Catholics was forced upon the notice of the whole country was during the memorable days of the threatened revolution of 1918. This is now past history, but the facts are not so commonly known outside of Holland as to make a short sketch of them superfluous here. In November, 1918, just after the German revolution, Troelstra, the leader of the Socialists, announced in the Chamber that the time had come for the Socialists to rule. Excitement ran high, especially in the cities, at this open threat of revolution. After a few days of suspense, Ruijs de Beerenbrouck, who was then Premier for the first time, announced that the Government would stand firm. Immediately all the Catholic organisations, especially the workmen's unions, declared their determination to help the Government. The Catholic regiments from Limburg and Brabant, which were known to be untouched by Socialism, were hurried to the Hague, Rotterdam and Amsterdam, where they were received with great enthusiasm by the populace. Shortly afterwards Troelstra publicly acknowledged that he had overestimated the strength of his party, and the threatened revolution became a thing of the past. Later, in December, there was a great meeting in the Malieveld in the Hague, to demonstrate the loyalty of the populace to the Queen. The horses were taken from her carriage, and she was drawn by the soldiers through the cheering crowds. In this demonstration the Catholics played a large part, one of the orators being the famous Franciscan preacher, Borromaeus de Greeve. I was shown an interesting

souvenir of those momentous days, a handbill which was circulated in the streets of the Hague, calling on all Catholics to support the lawful Government, and signed by the authorities of twenty-eight great Catholic federations, representing every class of the population.

Though the Catholics owe most of their power to their unity, it must not be thought that they possess no outstanding individual members. The name of Ruijs de Beerenbrouck alone would suffice to dispel such an impression. With him may be ranked Mgr. Nolens, leader of the Catholic party and personal adviser to the Queen and Baron van Voorst, President of the Senate. Amongst distinguished military men may be mentioned Jonkheer Alting von Geusau and Count Dumonceau, who is attached to the court. At the non-Catholic universities the following Catholics hold chairs :—at Groningen, Professor van der Corput (mathematics) ; at Leyden, Professor Keesom (physics) ; at Amsterdam, Professors Barge (law) and van Rooy (medicine) ; at Delft, Professor Grandpré-Molière, a convert (architecture) ; at Utrecht, Professors Beyssens (philosophy) and Pompe (law). The Catholic University of Nijmegen will receive special mention later. In the field of art and letters we may mention Dr. Cuypers, the most famous architect in the country ; Dr. Frederick van Eeden, the greatest contemporary author ; and Jan Toorop, the most outstanding modern painter, who died less than a year ago.

It was through their unity that the Dutch Catholics won in 1919 their great victory in the school question. They joined forces, as is well known, with the orthodox Protestants to secure full rights for the denominational schools. Since that time the Protestant and Catholic elementary schools are alike fully supported by Government funds, thus putting into practice an elementary principle of justice which is unfortunately not always applied in other lands, the principle that those who pay by taxation for the schooling of their children should have the right

to determine whether that schooling is to be godless or not. The magnitude of that victory can be gauged only when one travels through Holland and sees everywhere the beautiful, solidly-built, airy schools, many of them absolutely new, and all bearing the inscription " R. K. Bez. School " (Roman Catholic Denominational School). One thinks sadly of the terrible burden under which Catholic schools are groaning in countries which consider themselves much more enlightened than little Holland. The situation as regards Catholic secondary schools is not quite so satisfactory. Still the Government contributes largely to their upkeep.

I have before me as I write the massive Catholic Year Book of Education for 1928, published by the Catholic Central Bureau for Education at the Hague. It contains over a thousand pages packed with information concerning education and associations for the welfare of youth. From it a few interesting facts may be picked out at random. The numbers of pupils in Catholic primary schools, for instance, increased from 232,813 in 1919 to 360,918 in 1928. The " patronats," clubs where boys and girls come after school age and attend night classes and religious instruction, and have recreations under proper supervision, have 32,678 boys and 15,400 girls enrolled in their ranks. Boys' sodalities number 52,809 members, girls' 50,775, students' 975. Boys' athletic unions have 14,797 members, girls' 1,789.

A remarkable feature of religious life in recent years in Holland has been the large number of vocations to the priesthood. This becomes clear on reference to the Year Book. In 1907 195 boys entered seminaries or religious orders for the priesthood. In 1925 the number was 367. The Catholics (with only 35 per cent. of the population) have as many vocations in one year as the Protestants (with 52 per cent.) have in five years. In all the universities there are about 9,000 students. Of these about 1,200 are Catholic theological students, about 450 are Protestant theological students.

Allusion has been made to the Catholic University of Nijmegen. I had the opportunity of visiting it recently, and realised what great potentialities it has. It must, of course, be remembered that it is as yet an infant university. Three faculties have so far been opened, under the direction of a staff of twenty professors, and the number of students is just 500. The lecture halls, senate-room, etc., are contained in a very beautiful mansion situated right in the centre of the city, whilst the library, already a very fine one, is situated in another building. The local authorities have allocated a site in the very best quarter of the city for the new building, which it is hoped will soon be erected. On the lawn outside the present University buildings is a striking statue of St. Thomas Aquinas, which reminds me that the only three public statues in the city of Nijmegen are this one of St. Thomas, a magnificent bronze of St. Peter Canisius, who was born in Nijmegen, and in the principal street a commanding figure of Bishop Hamers, the heroic Catholic missionary murdered in the Boxer rising.

Before leaving Nijmegen I paid a visit to that unique institution, the " Holy Land," which is about half a mile outside the city. This is a large demesne, situated on a hill and commanding beautiful views of the city and surrounding country, where the scenes of Our Lord's life and passion have been reconstructed as realistically as possible. The existing trees and rocks have been worked into the design, and the whole is surmounted by a gigantic replica in concrete of the summit of Calvary, from which the Cross dominates the whole countryside. The utmost care has been taken to reproduce absolutely faithfully all the details of the various scenes. Joseph's workshop, for instance, is filled with rude tools brought from Palestine and the house of Nazareth contains household utensils and simple furniture exactly as they are found in the Holy Land. There is furthermore a complete museum of biblical objects, manuscripts, garments, pottery, relief

maps, etc.—the idea being to make it possible for those who cannot travel to the Holy Land to study here with complete accuracy the local colour of the Bible.

The "Holy Land" of Nijmegen does incidentally another excellent work. The total number of visitors is about 100,000 a year, and of these thousands are non-Catholics, who find there a complete refutation of the popular delusion that Catholics neglect the study of the Bible. Our cicerone, an amiable young German priest, who spoke Dutch, French or English with equal ease, told me that only a few weeks previously he had had in a party a young newly-married couple from Amsterdam, both Protestants. They were deeply impressed by the whole thing, and especially by the replica of the Via Dolorosa, along which are beautiful open-air Stations of the Cross. At the end they waited until the crowd had gone away, and then came shyly towards the priest. They wanted to tell him, so they said, that never before had they so deeply realised what Our Lord had done for men in dying for them. The young priest assured me that tears of joy were in their eyes as they spoke to him.

As may be expected, the outward organisation of the Catholics in Holland is corresponded to by a very vigorous spiritual life. Activity, life, energy are what one detects everywhere. Mr. van Hoek states in the articles before alluded to that two churches are being built by Catholics to every one by Protestants. I can well believe this. In Rotterdam (where, remember, the Catholics are only about one-sixth of the population) I was taken up to the top of a big building near the central railway-station, whence one gets a good view of the centre of the city. From it my guide showed me the spires of no less than twelve large Catholic churches. And the heart of the people is in this church-building. A Dutch priest gave me an example of a church recently erected in a little village. The acquired site was too low-lying; so the farmers of the entire district gave their services gratis,

and every evening when their own work was finished carted gravel to the spot until the elevation was sufficient to permit of building.

The vigour with which the retreat movement has been carried on in Holland does not need to be dwelt upon. A great deal has been written about it in the Catholic press of late, and full particulars may be found in Father R. S. Devane's recently published pamphlet, "A Lesson from Holland." Nor need I say much of the missionary activity of the Dutch. It, too, has been the subject of numerous articles in recent times. Holland is represented in the mission field by 1,650 priests, 830 brothers and 1,800 sisters. Although the Catholics of Holland are less than one per cent. of the Church, they supply ten per cent. of the missionaries. Some 45 missionary societies draw from Holland priestly vocations for the missions; their seminaries have more than 4,300 students. Seven congregations of Brothers and 36 of Sisters have foreign missions among their activities. Out of a total of 1,220 parishes in Holland, 720 maintain a native seminarian by adoption. The number of missionaries sent out from Holland during the last five years has increased from 3,200 to 4,200.

Apropos of the missions, I may remark that the Dutch mission calendar published by Ars Catholica (Van Lith, Leyden) is one of the best of its kind I have ever seen. For every day it has a photograph of mission life, and these are chosen with a wonderful eye to interest and beauty. The editor has evidently taken to heart the sound journalistic principle of every picture telling a story. Looking over last year's calendar, I noticed, for instance, a very striking snapshot of Lo pah Hong, the Chinese millionaire philanthropist, catechising a convict who had been brought from prison to a Catholic hospital for treatment. There was also a delightful picture of jolly little Chinese boys riding on a camel made of snow, and a charming camera study of little Chinese girls at

Taikin, South Shantung, being taught embroidery by a motherly Dutch nun. On the back of each day's leaf is printed interesting information about the missions.

The work of the Church for social welfare would require an entire article. Mr. van Hoek points out that social conditions throughout the whole country have been immensely influenced for good by the efforts of Dr. Aalberse, who was Minister of Labour in the cabinet of Ruijs de Beerenbrouck. The co-operative movement is largely supported by Catholic societies, and the traveller soon gets used to seeing on shops or carts the at first rather surprising legend "R. K. Bakkerei," "R. K. Melkerei"—"Roman Catholic Bakery," "Roman Catholic Creamery." In Amsterdam I got a glimpse of the building scheme carried through there under Catholic auspices. Though it is quite extensive, it must, however, be admitted that it forms only a fraction of the huge housing enterprises undertaken in that city by the Government.

These pages profess to be nothing more than the random impressions of an ordinary visitor to Holland, but I think that from them some idea may be gathered of the strength, influence, and healthy activity of the Church. And that strength is steadily growing. Conversions are nothing like as numerous as, for instance, in England, but a priest who has been for some years actively engaged in work for converts assured me that a thousand converts a year was quite a safe estimate. During recent years a remarkable form of apostolate has been the retreats for non-Catholics. These have only been given on a small scale, for the benefit of those who are tending towards Catholicism and wish to learn more about its devotional and ascetical side. They have resulted in a small but steady flow of converts, nearly all of the intellectual classes. This year a sensation was created in Socialist circles by the conversion of a prominent woman Socialist who had attended one of the retreats. A house has now been acquired where these retreats for non-Catholics will be further developed.

The Catholic body in Holland owes, however, its steady increase not so much to conversions as to the unflinching adherence of its members to a certain law of God. The following experience was illuminating. Wishing to see the new building schemes in Amsterdam, I hired a taxi and set out on a tour of inspection with a Dutch priest who knew the locality well. When we were starting, my friend offered the driver a cigarette. After we had inspected a number of the quarters, my friend offered the driver his case again. The man turned round, and to our surprise we saw the first cigarette between his lips, only half-smoked.

"You smoke slowly, my friend," said the Dutch priest.

The man nodded in assent, and then bluntly, but with perfect good humour, as with the air of one enunciating some inevitable axiom, he said :—

"I smoke slowly because I have five children."

"Then you are a Catholic ?"

"Yes, Father."

Could one get a more magnificent enunciation of sound ethics regarding the shouldering of the responsibilities of marriage than that blunt sentence, "I smoke slowly because I have five children" ? And the priest's confident conclusion was illuminating too. In Holland, as in so many countries, the Catholic Church is the only religious body that has taken up an uncompromising attitude towards the most hideous vice of modern civilisation. The Amsterdam taxi-man's reply was only one of many proofs I came across that, at the cost of sacrifice cheerfully borne, her children are loyal to her teaching. That loyalty is the secret of the steady advance in numbers of that united, powerful, and spiritually active body, the Catholics of Holland.

F. McGrath.

CHRONICLE

I.—The Grande Chartreuse in Literature

BY MADELEINE DEMPSEY, M.A., PH.D.

It is usual to associate the craze for Alpine scenery and the mountains with the entry of Rousseau into literature and the popularity of his *Nouvelle Héloise*, but even before 1761 there were many signs in France that love of the country was growing and that the great apostle of nature would find fertile soil for the propagation of his ideas. Paris was losing its attraction, the salons their influence, and men of letters were more and more seeking inspiration in solitude and retirement.

From 1737, as M. Daniel Mornet[1] tells us, it was customary for well-to-do people to spend a few months every year in the country, enjoying the beauties of nature and the sweets of repose. In the neighbourhood of Paris and the larger provincial towns, country houses were springing up with great rapidity and were in considerable demand. The weekly gazettes show an ever-increasing number of these residences for sale, and they are moderately enough priced to attract the middle as well as the upper classes. In most cases they are provided with a garden whose special amenities the proprietor takes great pride in extolling, for who would not dearly love to have a waterfall, an arbour, a myrtle-grove, or a terrace with statues and balustrade ? The tombs, mounds and ruins are yet to come, but they are not far off. Where there is no garden, the beauty of the natural surroundings is particularly stressed. This desire for nature and the striving to replace it, where absent, are noticeable in other directions and not least in the letters of the period. Correspondents speak frequently of walks in country lanes and woods, of meditation by a stream, of the pleasant view from a hill, and of the charm of birds and flowers. It is the prelude to the " Return to Nature " movement in literature and shows how the fashion for rustic scenes had been set in society, long before the first notes had been sounded in poetry or prose.

It was the beginning, too, of continental travel, of that age when no Englishman was considered educated who had not seen the larger cities of France, Germany, Switzerland and Italy.

[1] *Le Sentiment de la Nature en France.* (Paris, 1907.)

But Switzerland was soon to become the most favourite rendezvous of all. This was mainly due to the descriptions of two Swiss poets, Haller and Gessner, who celebrated the beauties of their native land in glowing terms and first made known the wonders of the Alps. With the vogue of Switzerland came the call of the neighbouring French mountains as well, and wild, romantic places, far removed from the haunts of men, were eagerly sought after and explored.

Considering the taste for the unusual, it is not surprising that a journey so far off the beaten track as the Grande Chartreuse should tempt quite a few and more especially those of poetic temperament. That it was well calculated to inspire mystery and awe, we can gather from the picture St. Hugues, Bishop of Grenoble, gave to St. Bruno and his six companions, when they sought his guidance for the site of their monastery in 1084.

> The place I am bringing you to [he said] is a terrible spot to dwell in. It is infested with wild beasts, surrounded by high mountains and immense forests, in which the winter is long and cold. Everything in it is terrifying ; the roar of the torrents and the silence of the woods, all foretell death. Think well before deciding on it. You will need more than ordinary courage to resist the temptation of retracing your steps.

The saint and his followers were not easily daunted ; for, without hesitation, they proceeded to the dread spot and made their foundation. They erected their cells round a tiny oratory on the site of the present chapel of St. Bruno ; but, wiped out by an avalanche some fifty years later, the new cloister was rebuilt in a more sheltered spot in the shadow of the Grand-Som. Seven times it was assailed by fire and, being of wood, quickly destroyed, till in 1676 the monks constructed a solid building of stone, which has withstood the ravages of time and exists to this day.

Though the mountain was well-nigh impenetrable to the ordinary traveller, it had been invaded on more than one occasion by the Calvinists, who sacked and burned the monastery. In order to defend themselves, the monks decided to fortify the narrow entrances to their retreat. The romantic pass of Fourvoirie, now a safe track for motorists, was once merely an opening for the waters of the Guiers between gigantic overhanging rocks. Here was the gate to the famous Desert, beyond which no woman could pass. In the account of a visit by Abraham Golnitz in 1630, we read :—

> We went through mountains thickly covered with snow, a veritable waste, without trace of man or beast, with not a human dwelling to be seen and only the cry of a bird of prey to be heard . . . . After many ups and

downs, we came at last to the lowlying village of Chartreuse (St. Pierre de Chartreuse) composed of a few houses and some mills. We had then to go through a very steep gorge, take a rather high road, leaving the precipice on the right, and follow a narrow path to the first gate of the monastery. There a one-arched bridge connects two huge rocks, only separated by a rapid mountain torrent, which suddenly crashes down with a great roar. So great is the strength of the water that it would be impossible to cross on foot or horseback, and were the bridge broken, the territory of the Chartreux would be entirely cut off. As soon as you have crossed the bridge you are confronted by a gate which a lay brother (dressed like a monk, however) opens and immediately closes behind you.[1]

It was not till 1715 that the monks decided to cut a road through these rocks and make the approach less formidable, but even then the journey was something of a high adventure and not to be taken light-heartedly. The paths being steep and dangerous, it was usual to climb them on horseback; and with the constant dread of thunderstorms in summer and of avalanches in winter, the excursion was always accompanied by a certain amount of risk. That the effort brought its own rich reward, however, may be seen from the accounts of two eminent English travellers for whom the delights of the way far surpassed the hardships of the journey. These were Gray and Walpole, who made the ascent while on their "Grand Tour" in 1739. Had all their travels inspired as much enthusiasm and given the same pure joy, it is possible the unhappy quarrel which was to divide them in Italy, might never have taken place. This is what Gray writes to his mother about a fortnight after their trip:—

It is six miles to the top, the road winding up it commonly not six feet broad; on one hand is the rock, with woods of pine-trees, hanging overhead, on the other a mountain precipice almost perpendicular, at the bottom of which rolls a torrent that, sometimes tumbling among the fragments of stone that have fallen from on high and sometimes precipitating itself down vast descents with a noise like thunder, which is still made greater by the echo from the mountains on each side, concurs to form one of the most solemn, the most romantic and the most astonishing scenes I ever beheld; add to this the strange views made by the crags and cliffs, on the other hand the cascades that in many places throw themselves from the very summit down into the vale and the river below and many other particulars impossible to describe, and you will conclude we had no occasion to repent our pains.[2]

Like the later romantics, Gray is drawn towards God by the beauty of nature and filled with admiration and reverence in the presence of such grandiose effects as those of the Chartreuse.

[1] Antoine Bâton: *Au Pays des Chartreux* (1921), p. 178.

[2] Gray: Works, Vol. II., pp. 35-36. (Macmillan, 1884).

It is on this aspect of the scenery that we find him dwelling in another letter to his friend and fellow-poet, West :—

> In our little journey up to the Grande Chartreuse, I do not remember to have gone ten paces without an exclamation that there was no restraining ; not a precipice, not a torrent, not a cliff but is pregnant with religion and poetry. There are certain scenes that would awe an Atheist into belief, without the help of other argument. One need not have a very fantastic imagination to see spirits there at noonday. You have death perpetually before your eyes, only so far removed as to compose the mind without frightening it. I am well persuaded St. Bruno was a man of no common genius to choose such a situation for his retirement, and perhaps I should have been a disciple of his, had I been born in his time.[1]

More eloquent still is Gray's travelling-companion, Walpole, from whom these scenes call forth one of the finest letters he ever wrote. Addressed to their mutual friend, West, it has a charm of expression and originality unequalled even by the raptures of the author of the " Elegy " :—

> But the road, West, the road ! Winding round a prodigious mountain and surrounded with others all shagged with hanging woods, obscured with pines or lost in clouds ! Below, a torrent breaking through cliffs and tumbling through fragments of rocks ! Sheets of cascades, forcing their silver speed down channelled precipices and hastening into the roughened river at the bottom ! Now and then an old footbridge with a broken rail, a leaning cross, a cottage or the ruin of a hermitage ! This sounds too bombastic and too romantic to one that has not seen it, too cold for one that has. If I could send you my letters post between two lovely tempests that echoed each other's wrath, you might have some idea of this noble roaring scene as you were reading it. Almost on the summit, upon a fine verdure but without any prospect, stands the Chartreuse. We staid there two hours, rode back through this charming picture, wished for a painter, wished to be poets ! Need I tell you, we wished for you ! Good-night.[2]

It is hard to think that one who could write with such ecstasy of the Grande Chartreuse, could be satisfied with the continuous round of gaiety, the balls, suppers, and masquerades, that were to fill his life for the next eighteen months in Florence. No wonder Gray felt the need of spiritual regeneration and turned his steps again to the Grande Chartreuse when he had quarrelled and parted with Walpole in 1741. If he had not shared all his friend's dissipations in those hectic days, he had at least tasted enough of their acid joys to know that life held more for him.

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[1] Gray : Works, Vol. II., p. 45.

[2] Walpole : Letters, Vol. I., p. 38. (Clarendon Press, 1903).

Back again in his spiritual home in the Alps, reviewing life with "the inward eye," his musings overflow into verse, and in the beautiful Alcaic Ode "O Tu! severi Religio Loci!" with which he adorns the pages of the visitors' book, we have the first intimation of the theme so brilliantly orchestrated in the "Elegy."

Nor was Gray the only English poet to find inspiration at the Grande Chartreuse. A half a century later, Wordsworth makes his way up its perilous paths and succumbs to all its charm. Heedless of looming examinations in Cambridge, he breaks away from England in 1790, on what writers are pleased to call "a wild escapade in the Alps." He is accompanied by a kindred spirit, a lover of the mountains like himself, Robert Jones, and with stick in hand and knapsack on their backs they cross France, high in hope and light of heart. It is in the early days of the Revolution, and everything seems to point to the dawn of a new era. What a rude shock awaits them at the Grande Chartreuse, where they are to witness a desolating scene. Soldiers had invested the monastery and broken in on the solitude of its "innocent inhabitants." They had not come, as Wordsworth imagined, to expel the monks but to make a domiciliary visit, the harbinger, it seems, of the eviction that was to follow. In spite of their presence, that hallowed retreat had lost none of its graces, or at least so the poet thought.

> Measuring our steps unquiet, we pursued
> Our journey, and ere twice the sun had set
> Beheld the convent of Chartreuse and there
> Rested within, an awful solitude.
> Yes: for even then, no other than a place
> Of soul-affecting solitude appeared
> That far-famed region, though our eye's had seen,
> As towards the sacred mansion we advanced,
> Arms flashing, and a military glare
> Of riotous men, commissioned to expel
> The blameless inmates and alike subvent
> That frame of social being, who so long
> Had bodied forth the ghostliness of things
> In silence visible and perpetual calm.

Though an ardent admirer of the French patriots and an enthusiast for the new freedom, Wordsworth is aghast at the desecration of the sanctuary and cries in anguish:—

> Stay, stay your sacrilegious hands . . . . .
> Your impious work forbear; perish what may,
> Let this one temple last, be this one spot
> Of earth devoted to eternity.

To the poet's mind, the spirit of equality that reigned among the monks and the high purposes which informed their lives, called for milder treatment from the exponents of liberty.

> If the past and future be the wings
> On whose support harmoniously conjoined
> Moves the great spirit of human knowledge, spare
> These courts of mystery, where a step advanced
> Between the portals of the shadowy rocks
> Leaves far behind life's treacherous vanities
> For penitential tears and trembling hopes
> Exchanged—to equalise in God's pure sight
> Monarch and peasant, be the house redeemed
> With its unwordly votaries for the sake
> Of conquest over sense, hourly achieved
> Through faith and meditative reason, resting
> Upon the word of heaven—imparted truth
> Calmly triumphant.

Though happy could he have prevented that cruel inquisition, Wordsworth was none the less pleased to inspect an abode sanctified by such holy lives and but recently opened to all who came.

> In sympathetic reverence we trod
> The floors of those dim cloisters, till that hour
> From its foundation, strangers to the presence
> Of unrestricted and unthinking man.[1]

With a mind too full of man's injustice to man for quiet meditation, he hurries down the mountain unheedful of the treasures that nature has lavished on these slopes. "A march it was of 'military speed,' and all he knew of that much-lauded vale was the succession of images and forms that changed 'fast as clouds are changed in heaven.'"

Had Wordsworth visited the Chartreuse with Chateaubriand fifteen years later, his grief would have been still more poignant, for to the solitude of the surrounding woods had been added the pathos of an abandoned cloister. Bereft of its masters and falling into disuse, the lonely monastery made a sad impression on the author of the "Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe." A solitary lay-brother remained to tend a sick monk who had just died and whose newly-made grave was still fresh. "We were shown over the monastery," says Chateaubriand, "and saw the cells of the monks, each with its little garden and workshop, where carpenter's benches and turner's wheels lay idle and the chisel had fallen to

[1] *The Prelude*, Bk. IV., pp. 164-165. (Cambridge Edition, 1904).

the ground." He saw the portrait-gallery of the superiors and visited the little chapel of St. Bruno whose life had been immortalised by the paintings of Le Sueur. Coming down through the forest, his mind was occupied with the lives of these hermits who had gone their way silently to eternity without so much as a glance on the passing world, and he envied their happy fate.[1]

Under brighter auspices was the visit of Lamartine in 1823, for the monks were in possession again, having returned in 1816 and taken up a part at least of their old lives. In the pleasant company of the Marquise de Bombelles, he rode up the mountain at daybreak and was soon under the spell of that alluring valley. Nowhere else had he seen such steep precipices or met with so many surprises at every turn of the road. Like Walpole he was enchanted with the frail footbridges that swung perilously over the foaming abyss, and he discovered new depths of water, whose greenish hues gleamed through the milky spray that bedewed the overhanging branches of beech and pine.

> After three hours of ravishment we arrived in sight of the monastery. It is an immense cloister built on the uneven slopes of the last mountain but one in the range, close to the snow-line and following the undulation of the earth like a cloak spread on the ground. I made the visit alone, while Mme. de B. was resting from the fatigues of the morning in the stranger's hospice outside the precincts. The monastery made little impression on me. I can understand the life of a hermit ; I have never understood these communities of men and women who exchange one society for another. They do not leave the world, they only enter a smaller one. It has all the pettiness, the vices, and weaknesses of the larger one ; only the nature of its worries has altered.[2]

Clearly unmoved by the supernatural element attaching to a life of sacrifice, Lamartine condemns a body of men who least deserve his strictures, for the Chartreux live in such seclusion that they rarely see each other and are more hermits than monks. That evening, as the poet and his companion were returning from the Chartreuse, a storm broke out and they were obliged to shelter beneath the rocks. Not satisfied with the prospect, Lamartine makes his way down to the bed of the torrent and takes refuge under an old wooden bridge. "When the storm had abated," he says, "it was followed by fine rain like the mist the wind scatters round a waterfall, and an immense rainbow, the arch as it were of a gateway into heaven, formed above the niche in the rock where Mme. de B., clinging to the wall of grey granite,

[1] Chateaubriand : *Mémoires d' Outre-Tombe*, Tome II, pp. 489-491.
[2] Lamartine : *Méditations Poétiques*, pp. 258-259.

was drying her loosened tresses in the breeze. Never before has the halo of light with which pious tradition encircles the heads of the Blessed Virgin, the Angels and Saints, seemed so real to me. The one I saw had been fashioned and painted by the hand of God Himself." Soaring on the wings of fancy, Lamartine composes a poem on the Grande Chartreuse, but it is the scene, not the monastery, which is his inspiration.

More amusing is the account of Stendhal's visit to the Chartreuse in 1837, for he arrives with a merry party of excursionists from Grenoble. Finding himself outside the convent with a number of ladies and gentlemen, he tries, with his usual gallantry, to gain admittance for all, but the rules of the cloister are inflexible, and in spite of the terrors of an exceptionally violent thunderstorm the wives are obliged to separate from their husbands and spend the night in the infirmary.

The men express reluctance to enter the monastery under such conditions; but Stendhal is only too happy to avail of the opportunity. With all his cynicism and incredulity, he is unable to resist its magic, and is already questioning the propriety of their visit. It seems almost an impertinence now to disturb the peace of holy men who have been at such pains to flee the world, and the restrictions imposed on the sex they most wish to avoid, no longer appears an injustice. The levity of Stendhal's companions only serves to heighten the contrast between the spiritual atmosphere of the Chartreuse and the life outside. Eager to be initiated into its mysteries, he rises during the night to attend divine office and is up again for Mass in the morning. The ceremonies fill him with admiration, but he finds the chapel strangely gloomy. He is dismayed by the severity of the architecture, and misses the gothic arches and graceful columns of other cloisters. The lack of ornament, though perturbing, is in keeping with the spirit of the Order. So unworldly are the monks that even the books in the library are grimy from disuse. With charming bonhomie, Stendhal suggests the study of botany for the monks. "Father," he says to the prior, "you ought to have books on plant-life and agriculture on these shelves. You could cultivate all the useful herbs that grow in Sweden, and it would not only amuse but interest you as well."

"But, Sir," was the reply, "we don't want to be interested or amused."[1]

Though lacking in text-books, the Chartreux were not altogether ignorant of the botanical resources of their mountains,

[1] Stendhal (Henri Beyle): *Mémoires d'un Touriste*, 2e Série, pp. 158-177. (Paris, 1854).

for they had already produced the famous liqueur and had discovered the recipe of a tonic wine, the Elixir for which they are still renowned. For the efficacy of the latter Stendhal vouches, as some of his friends bought it and proved its worth.

Unlike Stendhal, who was a man of action, Matthew Arnold represents the poet and dreamer haunted by unbelief and tortured by doubt. Of his visit in 1854 to the home of St. Bruno and of his unhappy state of mind he leaves a poignant record in "Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse." Though a prey to melancholy and sighing for that peace which the world cannot give, he seeks neither light nor guidance where he might well have found both. On the contrary, we find him apologising for appearing in such strange company—apologising to the "rigorous teachers" of his youth who had "purged his faith" and shown him "the high white star of Truth." Drawn towards the Chartreux by a certain affinity, he had come to shelter behind their cowled forms and hide in their gloom. Like them, he is out of joint with the times and a solitary on earth.

> Their faith, my tears, the world deride;
> I come to shed them at their side.
>
> For the world cries your faith is now
> But a dead time's exploded dream;
> My melancholy, sciolists say,
> Is a pass'd mode, an outworn theme.

A belated victim of the *mal du siècle* he does not even enjoy the distinction conferred by that once fashionable disease. His are the pains without the "nobleness of grief." Straining the analogy between himself and the anchorites, he claims that they, too, are survivals: he, "last of the race of them who grieve;" they, last "of the people who believe." Tired of controversy and religious disputes, he would gladly end his days in obscurity by their side. Of what avail is it to continue the strife when others before him, like Byron, Shelley and Senoncour, have worn themselves out in vain? He seeks peace in solitude. But the real sweetness of the desert escapes him, because he knows nothing of the higher and finer things of the religious life, the rapture of the saints in ecstasy, the joys of the contemplative state.

Very different is the attitude of Léon Bloy whom we find some thirty years later at the Grande Chartreuse, which he is so "magnificently endowed to appreciate."[1] Bloy was a French writer who died in 1917, leaving a considerable body of work

[1] See article on Bloy in *Studies*, September, 1924, pp. 408-426.

whose merit has not yet been fully recognised. Chief among his novels is *Le Désespéré*, an autobiography in which, under the name of Caïn Marchenoir, he describes his poverty and his sufferings. After his father's death and in the wake of many tribulations, he decides to make a pilgrimage to the famous monastery. It is winter, and there are no visitors but himself. As soon as he enters the Desert, he is overcome with a strange joy.

> Never before had he tasted so deeply of the religious and peace-giving charm of silence. Much snow had fallen during the night and the whole landscape, clothed in white like a Carthusian monk, sparkled brightly beneath the low-lying clouds of dull grey that seemed to lean on the mountains. Only the rumble of the torrent, as it rolled away through the depths of a wild ravine, broke in on the absolute stillness of this picture of sleeping nature. But like a lonely voice in a wilderness, the noise from below, melting into space as it rose, was soon engulfed in the prevailing hush and made the silence seem even more deep and more solemn.

Marchenoir had come to the Grande Chartreuse, not as a sight-seer, but to heal his sick soul; so "he resolved to bury himself in silence, in contemplation, in the silver twilight of prayer which cures anger and sorrow." He knew already how much solitude is necessary for men who want to live the divine life. "God is the great Solitary who speaks only to the solitaries and shares His qualities only with those who share His eternal solitude."

Marchenoir remains a month at the monastery, making a retreat. He follows the religious exercises, but is exempt from the severe discipline of the monks. He spends part of his nights in the chapel, attending the divine office, of which he has never enough. On the contemplative state he waxes lyrical. It is the highest aspiration of the soul, the aim *par excellence* of the solitary life. But it is not only for praise and adoration that the Chartreux watch at night; they also make reparation for the immense guilt of man. They are the great consolers of the Lord, before whom they intercede for the whole human race.

Reluctant to defile the sanctuary by the curiosity of a tourist, he is only with difficulty persuaded to visit the inside of the cloister. The bareness and simplicity of the cells, where the monks pass the greater part of their days, stir him with emotion. Instead of being repelled by their uniformity, he finds himself in the presence of "a definite source of poetry, far superior to the sinister spell of his despair." Under the austerity of the Rule shines out the glory of the hidden life in Christ; "a life of perpetual ecstasy, of overflowing joy, celestial inebriation, ineffable

peace and infinite variety." To understand such bliss is to desire it, and Marchenoir longs to be received into the Order. When the monks, understanding him better than he himself, tell him that he has no vocation, he is disconsolate, but subsequently becomes reconciled and returns to his books. Knowing that he is destitute, the Prior gives him a thousand francs as he is leaving.

To say that literature gained what religion lost in Bloy's departure from the Grande Chartreuse would hardly be correct; but there is no denying that both were the richer for his visit. Thanks to his supreme mastery of French prose, we have pages of exquisite beauty on the life of the Chartreux. The other men of letters whose accounts we have examined, were only interested in the romanticism of nature, the delights of the natural surroundings of the monastery. If the spiritual element touched them at all, it was only as an accessory, an added charm to the picture. In Léon Bloy we have the first serious attempt in literature to treat the subject with sympathetic understanding and from the Catholic point of view. MADELEINE DEMPSEY.

II.—Christian Missions in China

BY COLUMBANUS

A History of Christian Missions in China. By Kenneth Scott Latourette. London: S.P.C.K. 1929. 18s.

HERE is a Protestant history of Christian Missions to China, written by a Professor of Missions and Oriental History in Yale University, which is not likely to be replaced for many years to come as a complete and fair-minded record of the work done by every form of Christian missionary—Nestorian, Catholic, Greek Orthodox, and Protestant. The labour of putting so much material together must have been immense, and the bibliography with which the book closes runs to more than fifty pages.

The first two chapters deal with the "Religious Background of the Chinese" and the "Outstanding Characteristics of Christianity, and the bearing of these upon the possible acceptance of Christianity in China." A Catholic will find the latter of these two chapters unsatisfactory, for Professor Latourette writes from a standpoint which is best described as Modernist rather than Protestant. A Chinaman will probably find the former chapter too Western. But there can be no question of the author's sincerity and of his manifest desire to be fair in his statement

of the essential facts. His next two chapters contain a very useful summary of whatever is known at present concerning the early Nestorian Missions under the T'ang dynasty (618-907) and the later Franciscan Mission under the Mongols. In both these chapters Professor Latourette is plainly writing from secondhand, and he makes no secret of his indebtedness to the learning of Professor Paul Pelliot; he could hardly have chosen a better guide.

That both these earlier missions failed is established by the evidence of the first Jesuit missionaries in the seventeenth century, who found no survivors in any part of the Empire. Curiously enough, the discovery of the inscription at Hsianfu was made at the very beginning of their mission (1623 or 1625), and it was they who first sent news of the discovery to Europe. Needless to say, the discovery was for long mocked at as a pious fraud by the incredulous. But the last doubters have long since been silenced, and there is now no lack of scientific editions of the famous monument. How far the Nestorians, and after them the Franciscans, preached the Gospel to the native Chinese is a point of some difficulty. The Franciscan mission was undoubtedly mainly successful at the Mongol court, and seems to have perished completely with the fall of the Mongol dynasty. The Nestorians have a longer history, and traces of their churches can be found from the seventh to the fourteenth centuries. But they too seem to have perished in the dark age that separates the Mongol from the Manchu in Asia, and in Europe St. Francis and St. Dominic from St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier. Of the old Franciscan mission nothing survives to-day save a Latin Bible. The Nestorians have left their inscriptions and some crosses as witnesses to their Faith. Professor Latourette contrasts this failure with the success of Christian missionaries in the Roman Empire, and the comparison is certainly suggestive. Of the various reasons which he brings forward to explain the contrast, the most convincing to my mind is the simple fact of the distance to be covered. The almost incredible journeys made by the mediaeval Franciscans were not easily repeated, and modern historical research suggests that Nestorianism was as much a schism due to the distance from Mesopotamia to Rome as a heresy on the subject of the Incarnation.

With the coming of Xavier and Ricci a new chapter opens, due in part to the reopening of the old sea-route once used by Greek and Roman traders. But from this out Professor Latourette's narrative becomes so full that any detailed summary is impossible. At best I can only indicate certain salient features.

Two methods of approach to the Chinese mind are possible. Either an attempt is made to build up slowly and carefully a group of fervent practising Christians, who will, by the very fact of their Christianity, tend to be a people within a people, open to suspicion as foreigners and renegades. Or else an attempt is made to broadcast Christian and Western ideas, striving wherever possible to accommodate them to Chinese notions, and thus to act as interpreters between East and West. The result may well be an excessive spirit of compromise, fatal to the essential truth of Christianity. Outside the Christian faith two religious communities in China serve to illustrate both possibilities. Buddhism was first preached to the Chinese under the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-214 A.D.). From the first it has proved most accommodating to Chinese ideas, and has thus been able to influence profoundly a great deal of Chinese thought. But Buddhism has never succeeded in establishing itself as a national religion, independent of the older cults and schools of thought. Mohammedanism, on the other hand, has had the opposite history. It is to-day, and has always been, the faith of a small minority in China; and that minority is largely a foreign class by origin. There is no question of China becoming a Mohammedan Empire.

And what of Christianity? Viewed in this light, there is an extraordinary interest in the first Jesuit mission, with its daringly conscious effort to interpret Christianity to the Chinese mind. As far as the personal work of Ricci and his successors at Pekin is concerned, that effort ended in failure after a century and a half of astonishing success. And that failure was not due to any lack of sympathy in the Chinese: Jesuit influence never stood higher at the Manchu court than under the emperor K'ang Hsi, whose Edict of Toleration in 1692 gave the Church legal toleration throughout the Empire. The failure of the Jesuit policy was due directly to opposition from within the Catholic Church—opposition which gave rise to the famous controversy over the Chinese and Malabar rites, and ended in the condemnation of the Jesuit methods in China by the Bull *Ex Quo Singulari* of Benedict XIV (July 11, 1742). The story of the controversy, which is told by Professor Latourette in full detail, is not an edifying tale; but he does not fail to add the charitable reminder that on both sides men were fighting desperately for what they believed to be the interests of many millions of immortal souls. The immediate result of the condemnation was a complete change in the tactics of Catholic missionary activity. And the change was not made less marked by the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773.

But it would be a mistake to imagine that Jesuit missionary activity had been confined to the intellectual propaganda of Ricci and his successors. All through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Catholic missionaries, most of them Jesuit missionaries, were at work throughout the Empire, and their work was only temporarily interrupted by the occasional storms of religious persecution. The fruits of this prolonged mission are still with us to-day. One of the six Chinese Bishops consecrated by Pius XI in 1924 was Simon Tsu, a Jesuit, and a member of the family that had been Catholic for nearly three hundred years. So, too, the great Jesuit University and educational establishment at Zikawei, Shanghai, was built up during the nineteenth century on ground that had once been the home of Hsü Kuang-Ch'i, one of Ricci's first and most prominent converts. Other examples might be given, but the essential fact is that when the Catholic missions were reorganised at the beginning of last century, they inherited from the older missions not only a long and glorious tradition, but also a Christian population of about a quarter of a million. Moreover, while there were only thirty-one European missionaries in China in 1810, there were no less than eighty Chinese Catholic priests. Out of this small Church has grown the Church that we know to-day with its two million adherents and its average of about 130,000 converts annually since the war.

French Jesuits have been in charge of two large mission areas since 1856, and the French Lazarist Fathers have carried on the old Jesuit missions round Pekin ever since the suppression of the Society. In southern China the lion's share of the work has fallen to the great French Congrégation des Missions Etrangères, and the same Fathers have found able colleagues further inland in the Fathers of the Belgian Missions of Scheut. In Central China both Franciscans and Lazarists have been prominent throughout the century; and to-day there is hardly a religious order or missionary society that is not represented on the Chinese mission field.

But the outstanding fact of the nineteenth century has been the coming of the Protestant missionary. Numerically the Protestants are still in a proportion of about one to five as compared with the Catholics; but until the catastrophe of the last two years they were immensely superior to the Catholics in wealth and organisation, and in their influence on the public life of the country. It was—externally at least—the old story of a contrast between the two types of propaganda, for the Catholic mis-

sionaries had never renewed the daring methods of the first Jesuits. Professor Latourette rightly tells at full length the story of Protestant missionary endeavour in the past hundred years. It has been an amazing, and in many ways a heroic tale. Taunts have been so freely flung against the Protestant missionaries who left their posts two years ago that it is well to remind ourselves that as recently as 1900 no less than 134 Protestant missionaries lost their lives in the Boxer rising—as compared with some fifty Catholic missionaries. And the spirit in which they met their death was no less admirable. To quote from the brief record in this volume: "One preacher was caught, urged to recant, and upon his refusal his eyebrows, ears and lips were cut off, and then, since he remained obdurate, his heart was cut out and exhibited for days in a theatre. His fourteen-year-old daughter followed the heroic example of her father, and perished."

There is no lack of such heroic courage in the annals of modern Catholic martyrs, but we are apt to overlook the courage of our rivals. And there are other names on the list of Protestant missionaries in China which deserve to be commemorated:—Robert Morrison himself, who began his work in 1807, at a time when English trading interests were actively hostile to all missionary work; James Hudson Taylor, the founder of the China Inland Mission, whose amazing achievements and whose unshaken trust in God's Providence remind a Catholic reader of his great contemporary, Cardinal Lavigerie; Timothy Richard, a pioneer in more modern missionary methods, and in many respects the Protestant counterpart to Matteo Ricci; or the convert Jew, Samuel Schereschewsky, who, "although able to write only by operating a typewriter with one finger, revised his edition of the Mandarin Old Testament, turned the entire Bible into the literary language, and was engaged on the Apocrypha at the time of his death in 1906."

These are the outstanding names, and the external evidences of their activity are known to all. And we all know the sensational collapse in 1927. Professor Latourette brings his history up to that date, and admits that his story closes at a moment when "dismay threatened even the stoutest hearts." His analysis of the causes that led to the collapse make interesting reading, and his criticisms both of Protestant and Catholic methods cannot be overlooked. In particular it is interesting to find this Protestant critic pointing to a weakness on the Catholic side which is the last that a stranger would suspect—a lack of united action as compared with the co-operative methods of the Protestant mis-

sionaries. Yet those in touch with the actual mission fields admit the truth of the charge. Protestants have the immense advantage of a single language, for they are almost all English or American. And their doctrinal differences are increasingly unimportant, as the Evangelical movement tends more and more to a nebulous union. It is significant, for example, that no Catholic missionary congress was held in China until 1924, whilst the Protestants have been able to hold five important congresses in 1877, 1890, 1907, 1913 and 1922. Apparently each little mission is apt to go its own way in the Catholic ranks, having surprisingly small contact with its Catholic neighbours. That is where the new methods inaugurated by the present Holy Father are making themselves powerfully felt.

Lack of appreciation for the immensely powerful and personal contribution of Pope Pius XI to the missionary cause is one of the faults that I find in this book—though as a rule the information about the Catholic missions is surprisingly accurate and up-to-date. Another fault is perhaps inevitable. In the long comparison which he draws between the Catholic and Protestant missions since the great revival of missionary interest a hundred years ago, it is plain that Professor Latourette finds it hard to restrain his natural sympathy for those whose cause is more especially his own. Those who have read T'ang Leang-Li's remarkable outburst, *China in Revolt*, will remember the fury of his indignation against the missionaries as a whole, and in particular against the educational work done by the American Protestant schools and universities. What is at the back of this hatred? Why should the most bitter enemies of the missions come from their own schools? And how far is the charge true that the American and the English missionaries are for the most part little better than commercial travellers in disguise? These are questions that are not fairly put and answered in Professor Latourette's book, whilst he is very frank as to the abuses that have existed among both Protestant and Catholic missionaries in the matter of military protection, extra-territorial status and the courts of justice. They are perhaps questions to which even the most complete bibliography will not give an answer, and it would be ungracious to complain because the author is human. This is a Protestant book, written by a Protestant mainly for Protestants; but many a Catholic student of the missionary problem will treasure it as a valuable volume on his shelf. And all Professor Latourette's readers will be grateful to him for a heavy task generously undertaken and carefully done.

COLUMBANUS.

REVIEWS

Apologetics

THE SPIRIT OF CATHOLICISM. By Dr. Karl Adam. Translated by Dom Justin McCann, O.S.B. London : Sheed and Ward. 1929. 8° pp. 238. 7s. 6d. nett.

PROGRESS AND RELIGION. By Christopher Dawson. London : Sheed and Ward. 1929. 8° pp. 254. 10s. 6d.

THESE are two books really worth while—worth while writing, worth while publishing, worth while reading. Yet they are very diverse and will make a very different appeal. The former is easier reading, more immediately practical, and likely to find a wider circle of readers. It is indeed one of the most important contributions to Apologetics I have read for some time. What attracts most about it is its sureness and its serenity. I was reminded in reading it of Matthew Arnold's famous motto, "Sweetness and Light." It has both. It is a very luminous presentation of Catholicism from within, which proceeds from the sound principle that a clear statement of what the faith really means for those who hold it is much better than any amount of triumphant polemics or subtle dialectics. It is an ideal book to put into the hands of non-Catholics anxious to learn something about the Church.

To digress a moment, it would seem peculiarly suitable for our own separated brethren in Ireland, who very obviously were a little stunned and bewildered by the revelation of Centenary Week. No one can fail to feel sympathy with them in their difficulties. They are the victims of a truly *damnosa haereditas*. Nowhere has misrepresentation of the Catholic Church been carried to more extreme limits than in Ireland. Pope baiting and Pope hating were the very soul of sixteenth century Protestantism here. And though that vulgar note has for long been dying out, it has left a mass of profound prejudice and misunderstanding which Dr. Karl Adam would help to dissipate. He will enable them to understand the scene in Phoenix Park on June 23, and give them food for reflection. He will do so without offending. For he writes with a wonderful and wholly admirable charity and restraint. He writes also with a complete competence. And it is high time that non-Catholic Christians in Ireland tried to fathom the Church which surrounds them, puzzles them, repels them, and yet, now at last, is beginning to attract them. Hitherto they have lived in an atmosphere of obstinate non-comprehension. A thousand influences, apart from religion, have combined to blind them to the claims of Rome, to the intellectual strength of

its position, to the beauty of its ritual and the richness of its culture. Hence they have inherited towards the faith of three-quarters of their countrymen an attitude of aloofness and disdain which bears no relation at all to reality and is generations behind the march of Protestant thought in other lands.

Mr. Dawson's work is different. It would be vain to pretend that the ordinary reader, even when educated, would either relish or comprehend it. Yet those who are capable of doing so will find it positively fascinating. It is an ambitious book. It aims at tracing the genesis and history, not of this or that religion, but of religion in general and its relation to human life. Anyone who has ever wrestled with this problem, so vast, so complex, so important, yet so elusive, will be inclined to think the attempt a rash one. If so, I can only say : *Tolle, lege.* He will be astonished at the measure of success attained in this modest volume of 254 pages. There is no parade of erudition. But there is what is better, a proof of really profound study in a comprehension of the subject which would be impossible without it.

A detailed criticism of such a book is obviously out of the question here. It is inevitable that where the canvas is so vast portions here and there must seem blurred and hurried. There are some unconvincing pages, some hasty and questionable generalisations, and a few parts where the condensation demanded by the nature of things leaves an impression of sketchiness and inadequacy. But it would be captious and unjust to dwell on these. Taken for all in all, it is a great book, original, objective and very illuminating. Indeed I do not hesitate to say that it is one of the best attempts I have ever read to reduce to order the chaotic mass of historical facts which most educated men know but do not understand. No one will lay it down without having gained a deeper insight into " that vast and magic spectacle of human affairs which, from childhood to old age, fascinates the gaze of every man of imagination, and would be his terror, if it were not also his delight."

For my part I leave it down with the conviction that Mr. Dawson is one of the most penetrating critics and profoundest thinkers of our day. His Conclusion (Ch. X) seems to me to put the issues of life and death before European civilisation with a courageous truthfulness and sanity. What his conclusion is I leave untold, that I may stimulate curiosity to read the whole book, which merits to be studied and digested by all thoughtful men.

P. J. Gannon.

SURVIVALS AND NEW ARRIVALS. By Hilaire Belloc. London: Sheed & Ward, 1929. 7s. 6d.

THE most supine of Catholics cannot read this book of Mr. Belloc's without being braced to a vigorous and enthusiastic consciousness of what the Church means in the world. And one would like to know what an honest non-Catholic would say on laying it down. Mr. Belloc has a real notion of what is the function and the activity of the Church. He states fearlessly that the relations between the Church and its age will always be—has always been—at the best one of strain and friction, most commonly one of conflict. All civilizations rest back on ethics and a philosophy; all great changes and differences in politics are ultimately religious.

This book, which is not too happily named, is a survey of the position of the Church in the world of to-day. Mr. Belloc brings us to a point of vantage from which we can survey the whole ground and the state of the conflict. With that trenchant lucidity of his he shows us the Church as something unique and sharply cut off from society, not merging into it imperceptibly, but inevitably from its nature challenging reaction and hostility. The Church will always be attacked, but the direction and weapons and spirit of the attack will be always changing. The survivals, in Mr. Belloc's words, are the methods of attack that were thought irresistable a generation ago. They are spent waves now: we only smile at them. The major portion of the book is given to an examination of the "main-opposition"—that is to those forms of attack which have behind them the greatest weight and thrust. They are nationalism, anti-clericalism and the "modern-mind." The examination and analysis of these forces is done with great clearness and insight.

This is undoubtedly the most illuminating and bracing book on modern Catholic apologetics that we have seen. For all its quiet scientific, analytic tone, it has an unmistakable ring of battle. Mr. Belloc is convinced that the Church is faced with a unique opportunity to convert the western world. The non-Catholic cultures have perished; the new Paganism has no scheme of life on which society can rest for any time; the Church alone has such a scheme. The need of the world is great and evident; the time for a great advance has come. Let me quote the fine ending of this book. "But if I be asked what sign we may look for to show that the advance of the Faith is at hand, I would answer by a word the modern world has forgotten: Persecution. When that shall once more be at work it will be morning."

H. K.

Archaeology

ON ALEXANDER'S TRACK TO THE INDUS. A Personal Narrative of Explorations on the North-West Frontier of India. By Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E. London : Macmillan. 1929. 21s.

Sir Aurel Stein has made many journeys through strange lands, and he has published the record of his wanderings in costly volumes—so costly that a poor student may well thank heaven that Dublin is the home of a National Library. But this volume is neither costly nor over-burdened with technical matter ; and the reader feels throughout, as the writer himself admits, that we have here the record of " the happiest wandering that I have ever enjoyed between the Pamirs and the Indian Ocean." The photographs alone—and there are a hundred of them—are a revelation of mountainous splendour ; and the romance of Alexander's name is not the only attraction for a student of history. For this is the land where East and West met more than two thousand years ago ; the land where Indo-Greek successors of Alexander's empire were themselves replaced by Indo-Scythian rulers ; where Buddhism was first developed under Greek influence into a cult that spread through Central Asia to China ; a land which for centuries was a centre of Buddhist piety, so famous that Chinese pilgrims came hither for centuries, through dreadful mountain-passes " where iron chains served for bridges " ; a land through which Islam passed to India, as centuries before there had passed the first Aryan invaders.

To all this wealth of historical memories Sir Aurel Stein is the magician with the key. As far back as 1898 he had made his first attempt to penetrate with British troops into a country that is only at intervals accessible to the European. Since then there had been many disappointed hopes, but the expedition which he finally carried through in 1926 was more successful than even he had dreamed. The main purpose of the expedition was to determine the topography of Alexander's famous campaign of 327 B.C. Only the first stages in that campaign had been hitherto intelligible : they brought Alexander to the Swat River beyond Bajaur. Now we know from Sir Aurel Stein's investigations that Massaga, the first city which he captured in the land of the Assakenoi, must have been in Lower Swat ; that Bazira (or Beira), against which Koinos led a force, was most probably the modern Bir-kot ; and that Ora, which Alexander captured to the dismay of the Assakenoi, was also probably the modern Ude-gram, where there still remain the ruins of extensive and formidable fortifica-

tions. But the explorer's greatest triumph is the identification of Aornos, the scene of Alexander's great feat of arms, with the modern Pir-sar. "Alexander, so Arrian and Curtius tell us, offered sacrifices to the gods when he had gained possession of the Rock. I had no victory to give thanks for. Yet I, too, felt tempted to offer a libation to Pallas Athene for the fulfilment of a scholar's hope, long cherished and long delayed."

These are chapters that will be read with interest by every classical student; but here, as elsewhere, we learn not to limit our interest or our admiration to purely classical topics. It is significant, for example, that the great explorer sighs more than once for the accurate notes of his "Chinese patron saint," Hsüantsang, whose journey, made in the year 752, Sir Aurel Stein has now followed across Central Asia, as well as down the valley of the Swat. Everywhere he has found him accurate, and observant of what deserved to be noted; whilst Arrian, the most accurate of Alexander's chroniclers, preserves earlier Greek notices that are too often marred by rhetoric. Classical loyalty may perhaps be consoled by the insight into early Buddhist art, which reveals so clearly the influence of Hellenism: away in far-off Torwal, the most remote and backward of the territories now subject to the ruler of Swat, Sir Aurel Stein found modern wood carvings which show similar influence, with acanthus-scrolls and the like. And there is no resisting the joy of an explorer who can stop for a day to record specimens of an unrecorded Dard language through the medium of Pashtu; then pass on to a ruined Buddhist Stupa, sometimes one that has been minutely described in some old Chinese record of fifteen hundred years ago; and then perhaps try to date some ancient building by the discovery of Buddhist pottery or Indo-Bactrian coins. *Felix qui potuit.* A. G.

THE HITTITE EMPIRE. By John Garstang, M.A., B.Litt., D.Sc. London: Constable. 1929. 25s.

"THY father was an Amorite, and thy mother an Hittite." That is the modern version of a phrase from Ezechiel (xvi. 3), which reads in our Douai version: "Thy father was an Amorrhite, and thy mother a Cethite." And the child of this union is no stranger, but the Holy City of Jerusalem. So nearly does modern archaeology touch the source of our spiritual ancestry.

Professor Garstang's book is in no sense a history of the Empire which to-day attracts classical scholars as the Golden Fleece once lured the Argonauts. And the comparison is not so

fanciful as the cynic would have it. For it was along the northern coasts of the Hittite Empire, closed to them and to their children until Troy fell before the Achaean onslaught, that Jason and his comrades sailed to an unknown world. Dim memories of such wanderings have survived in Greek legend, and have been the cause of much day-dreaming ever since. To-day these legends are slowly taking shape as history, and scholars are eager to learn from Hrozny and Forrer some new detail of the story to which they hold the key. Professor Garstang, who was present at Boghaz-Keui when Winckler discovered the famous Hittite tablets in 1906, has wisely decided that the time has not yet come for a history of Hittite civilisation. What is wanted, and what he gives with admirable clearness, is a full survey of the archaeological evidence at present available for study; and a special word of gratitude is due for the splendid illustrations which double the value, but not the price, of the volume. Even here there is always the possibility that some more than usually lucky excavator may light upon a site that will upset all present theories, for Anatolia is still largely *terra incognita* to the professional archaeologist. But there is at least less likelihood of sensational discoveries by the spade of the excavator. Dr. Hrozny and Dr. Forrer are the real wizards, who may any day decipher some tablet that will give the key to much that Professor Garstang can only conjecture.

What we know of Hittite civilisation can be stated plainly and briefly. As early as 2,000 B.C. Hittite power, centred round the city of Hattusas (the modern Boghaz-Keui) in northern Asia Minor, was strong enough to sack Babylon; and for the next thousand years the Hittites, divided into various states with the northern Hatti as their purest and most powerful representatives, count as one of the great Empires of the ancient world. Who the Hittites were by racial origin is still a puzzle, but the solution is probably not far off. Hrozny has proved that the official Hittite language, in which many of the tablets found at Boghaz-Keui are written, is Indo-European in its affinities, and not too remote from Old Latin. The older proto-Hittite language, which is also found in the tablets, has not yet been fully deciphered, but what we know of it suggests Aryan and Caucasian connections. Language is never a sure test of nationality or racial origin, and the Hittites who spoke and wrote these languages may yet be proved to have been cousins of their southern Semitic neighbours. But a main point in Professor Garstang's careful analysis of the geographical conditions in which the Hittite power developed is

that the communications by land between Anatolia and Syria to the South were far less favourable than the communications to the East with Armenia and to the West with Europe. A probable conclusion from these data is that the people whom we know as Hittites—and who may or may not be racially connected with the Mitanni of northern Mesopotamia and with other minor stocks of this whole area—came into the highlands of Anatolia either from Thrace or over the Caucasus or from the plateau of Iran. They are essentially, according to this theory, northern intruders into the long line of their southern Semitic neighbours and rivals. And the climate of Anatolia, as well as the difficult mountian passes that separate their home from the lands of the South, explain why they were able for so long to resist the mighty Empires of Babylon and Assyria. It was from the West that ruin finally came.

Students of the Bible will naturally turn with special interest to the concluding sections of Professor Garstang's book, in which he surveys the traces of Hittite occupation in Syria and Palestine. Quite recently the *Illustrated London News* has published photographs of a most curious and significant Syro-Hittite monument found at Beisan by the American excavators. No better commentary could be desired on the text which I have already quoted. The utterances of Ezechiel and other Hebrew prophets seem curiously modern to those who have a taste for Mediterranean archaeology. A. G.

Biography

THE LIFE OF JULIAN EDMUND TENISON WOODS, 1832-1889. By Rev. George O'Neill, S.J., M.A. Sydney and Melbourne: Pellegrini. 1929. 22s. 6d.

MANY difficulties had to be faced by Father O'Neill in the composition of this book. The most outstanding event (or series of events) to be treated in this biography was undoubtedly the foundation of the Josephite nuns (1861) and the development of their Institute, for the Institute of the Sisters of St. Joseph of the Sacred Heart has proved to be one of the most important factors in the solution of the Catholic Education problem in Australia. But the story of this development must necessarily be the principal theme of another biography promised by Father O'Neill for the end of the year, *viz.*, the Life of Mother Mary MacKillop. There was thus danger of anticipating the latter volume, and robbing it of its interest. The biography of the priest-founder, Fr. Woods, had indeed to come first; but the

reader feels that Father O'Neill is struggling against a temptation to drift away from the one-sided view to which he has deliberately confined himself, and show us at once both sides of the picture. Perhaps it would have been possible to combine the two Lives in a "History of the Sisterhood of St. Joseph of the Sacred Heart"; but this would have been to deprive both the leading characters of the attention which their efforts and careers merit. God, in making the history, could and did subordinate the two founders to the work of their foundation; but our author has rightly separated two completely different aspects of the story.

The documents on which the biography of Father Woods is based are plentiful enough, but they had to be sought for through the archives of the innumerable Josephite convents scattered over Australia. The "Memoirs," dictated by the missionary himself two years before his death, should have been a useful mine of information: they proved in fact rather a hindrance. They are so distorted by the old man's prejudices, and contain so large an element of pure hallucination, that they have to be controlled by other evidence or completely discounted. So frequently do they contradict the known truth where we have other documents, that they become unreliable where we have none but them. The early history of Fr. Woods as an apprentice in *The Times* office, as a Passionist under F. W. Faber, and as a candidate for the Marists under the Bl. Julien Eymard is thus very uncertain.

But the most serious difficulty for our author was the extreme complexity, one might almost say the psychological mystery, of what Fr. O'Neill calls "the man's remarkable diathesis." His character presents a puzzling compound of undoubtedly great virtue, and even sanctity, with some glaring failings: deep and apparently sincere humility combined with overbounding confidence in his own judgments and "lights"; a life-long desire of crosses and humiliations, and a truly heroic acceptance of some that were "granted," shadowed by rebellion and disobedience to the Holy See when the latter ordered his deposition from the direction of the Congregation he had founded; strong mystical tendencies and a fervent piety which could degenerate into the most absurd credulity, extravagant prophecies, and blind belief of every tale of ecstasy or diabolical possession, side by side with the painstaking accuracy of a skilled and thoroughly scientific geologist, botanist and entomologist, and the patient attention to detail needed for the collection, classification and preservation of thousands of specimens. It must long remain a mystery, for example, how the same man who formed the early spiritual life

of Mary MacKillop, and received from her and from other highly respected nuns such reverence and obedience, could have become the victim of an "*idée fixe*" and pass into open contravention of all his own precepts without noticing the slightest change in himself.

The tragedy of the founder's estrangement from his spiritual children, and especially from Mother Mary (1871-5), is so poignant and so perplexing that it diverts attention from other lesser problems. It may even leave the reader with a false and quite unjust prejudice against Father Woods. He may fail to observe that this naïve visionary, who could sit down seriously to prophesy the dates of his friends' deaths, could also write a book of lasting worth on the geology of South Australia, and contribute nearly one hundred and fifty learned articles to scientific reviews of America and Europe. Still more strange perhaps is the fact that this cultured artist-pianist, whose scientific studies of the fauna, flora and geological strata of Australia were and are considered of great importance, could yet be the most successful Catholic missionary in the wildest districts of Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania in their wildest days.

All these difficulties have been successfully overcome. Writing with an easy grace and the faultless style which readers of *Studies* will recognise, Fr. O'Neill threads his way calmly through the maze of evidence. Though he hesitates to give judgment on Father Woods's mystical experiences, though he insists that there is a difficult problem in psychology presented by the story, and prefers to relate the details without (at least for a long time) expressing his own opinion, he gives us a very clear and not too difficult story of what the missioner really felt, thought, ambitioned and accomplished. Every careful reader will admit that this is an achievement worthy of the author. He has given us a foretaste of the pleasure that we may expect from the promised supplementary volume on Mother Mary MacKillop. D. N. H.

WOLSEY. By A. F. Pollard, M.A., F.B.A., Director of the London School of Historical Research. London : Longmans. 1929. Pp. xvi + 393. 21s. net.

THIS carefully-wrought volume exemplifies at once the systematic documentation of a definite period of English History, as already carried out in Dr. Pollard's volumes on the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII, and also the very definite and very English opinions which the traditions of University College, London, import into the treatment of the relations of Church and State.

The radical secularism, the philosophical anti-clericalism of the epoch of Grote and of the two Mills and of their associated publicists, clearly provide the warp for this web of historical exposition. "We are more intimate with Wolsey than we are with Wellington boots or Gladstone bags," writes Dr. Pollard on his first page. This inspiration, admittedly derived from "street hoardings," is elaborated into a characteristic exordium: its special quality is also worked consistently into the whole texture of the book. Wolsey's "power had neither pride of ancestry nor hope of posterity" (p. 331). Of the fallen statesman this dignified volume records (p. 273) that "conversion was a seemly prelude to that going up to York to suffer exile, which the consummate actor began in his Master's Passion Week," the opening of April 1530. Under the heading of "Characteristics," Dr. Pollard's index sets out about 50 descriptive terms, with some 120 references. The overwhelming majority of these are hostile in every word. They lead off with 'acquisitiveness' and 'aggressiveness': they conclude with 'vanity,' 'venom,' 'violence,' and 'wizardry.' They culminate in a central group of denunciatory phrases, conspicuous among which, with many references, are 'irresponsibility' and 'papalism.'

It is precisely this 'papalism' which is Dr. Pollard's capital charge against Wolsey; and in developing it, by his combined process as defined in his preface, the fusion of "research and opinions," he has rendered valuable if unintentional service to Wolsey's fame as a great Catholic force. The Director of the London School of Research attacks the 'traditional Catholic view' that Wolsey was the author of the Tudor Schism. From his numerous incisive phrases a few may be brought together to state the grounds of this counter-attack on Wolsey's position.

> From first to last, Wolsey strove to retain for the Church all the liberties it possessed. He looked to Rome for all his remedies. He insisted on reference of the divorce to Roman jurisdiction in the conviction that only papal sovereignty could decide it. He instilled into Henry's mind the highest conceptions of papal power. He lamented on the eve of the fall that it would be followed by the subversion of the Church. He was at times more papal than the Pope. Never had Roman jurisdiction been brought home to Englishmen so effectively and so intensively as by Wolsey. The work of king and parliament was to anglicise the Roman church, and that of the cardinal was to romanise the remnants of the feudal and the rudiments of the modern state (pp. 177, 330-1, 357-8).

From such positions Dr. Pollard inveighs against Wolsey's lack of action as a statesman. "He never suggested an

oecumenical council" against Clement VII; he sought no replica, for England, of "the Gallican liberties"; "apparently he desired none for the Church in England." Wolsey's splendidly constructive policy of using the less serviceable monastic properties for the creation of new dioceses, new popular schools and colleges, a policy entered on by virtue of his legatine powers expressly defined by the Holy See, had all the elements of successful reform. It was by such thorough action that the Catholic Restoration was worked out on the Continent from 1550 to 1600. Dr. Pollard's treatment of that creative policy in England, 1518-1528, is scant, scattered, unsympathetic.

Yet he is forced to admit its great qualities. Wolsey "might be called a good European, a good papalist, a good catholic," while it was Henry VIII who "became the insular and schismatic exponent of patriotic nationalism." So, too, Dr. Pollard is candid enough to declare that when in 1533 the English "ship of state started on its piratical cruise," "Catholicism yielded to a patriotism which found vent in the sea-divinity of Elizabethan sea-dogs, the land-hunger of adventurers in Ireland and abroad, the work of men who executed one king and expelled another." Thus does a work whose dominant note is censorious hostility to Wolsey, come by undesigned but very real ways to be substantially his vindication as a Catholic statesman and reformer. T. C.

JOAN OF ARC. By Hilaire Belloc. London: Cassell. 1929. 6s. net.

THERE is no point in all history at which so many noble things meet as in the brief public career of St. Joan of Arc. Patriotism and sanctity, achievement and suffering, heroism and virtue, strength and gentleness, all blend at this wonderful moment. She will always remain one of the supreme inspirations of admiration, pity and love. There is nothing in all history like that girl in white armour leading her country from despair to victory, hampered by distrust, treachery and jealousy in high places, chafing at the cowardice and sluggishness of generals and counsellors, urged on by her visions and voices. And because she was a saint she had to have her passion. Her voices cease after the events at Orleans and Rheims: she is captured and abandoned. There were the awful months in the prison at Rouen; the insults to her purity from the English men-at-arms in the ill-lighted dungeon; the breaches of faith; the eternal, cunning cross-questions; the momentary weakness, the burning.

Mr. Belloc has related this wonderful career in a brief, swift

narrative that is admirable in tone and style. It reads like a chronicle, with its slightly archaic style; it is clear and firmly knit with dates and accounts of places; and here and there, in the accounts of the fighting, it has an epic flavour. A trifle, no doubt, for one of Mr. Belloc's powers, but a trifle done with dignity and exquisite taste. Perhaps we may be permitted to suggest that it would be more in keeping with the general tone of the book—to say nothing of other reasons—if he called her *Saint* Joan; and is there not a slip on p. 62, where "The Tourelles" is placed on the *right* bank of the Loire? H. K.

LA VIE DE LENINE. Par Pierre Chasles. Paris: Plon. 1929. 12 fr.

Lenin rode the storm of the Russian Revolution. But to what extent did he direct its course? He led an attack literally diabolic in power and malice on Christian civilisation—but was he a real leader or a fairly ordinary man himself driven forward by the rush? This is certainly the most important question as regards the man whom history will charge with more blood and suffering and destruction than any other man in all her pages.

In M. Pierre Chasles' book Lenin is given as the chief organiser of the Bolshevik revolution and the real founder of the Soviet Republic, and yet the reader does not feel convinced that the claim is proved. It is not that M. Chasles is not well versed in modern Russian history; his knowledge of it shows forth all through his book. It is rather that he directs his stage-light too exclusively on Lenin, and leaves the background and the surrounding figures in too dim a light. Facts are given in abundance, but their significance is not clearly brought out. One sees Lenin doing wonderful things, overthrowing a powerful government, breaking into small atoms an ancient social order, calling forth from chaos a mighty army, summoning congresses of incoherent fanatics and imposing his own clear aims upon them, inciting his followers in one direction, and then forcing them back in an opposite; but the book does not enable us to realise either the difficulty, danger and importance of these tremendous achievements or to understand the powers at Lenin's disposal for compassing them.

A person who knows little of modern Russian events and reads this book as a child reads a fairy-story, without asking too many questions, will find it fascinating. There are also several new facts of importance recorded in it, especially with reference to the origins of Bolshevism, the decision of Lenin in favour of the

Brest-Litovsk Peace, his adoption of the New Economic Policy, etc.; but these facts can only be "apperceived" by one who is already familiar with the subject-matter of the book. Of great interest too is the study of Lenin's personality, the account of his *provenance* and upbringing, the development of his character, the subtle analyses of his motives. Several portraits of Lenin are given. L. McK.

Celtica

LEBOR NA HUIDRE. Book of the Dun Cow. Edited by R. J. Best and Osborn Bergin. Published for the Royal Irish Academy by Hodges, Figgis & Co. 1929. 30s. net.

AN accurate and readable transcript of the ancient MS. known as *Lebor na hUidre* is a boon for which the learned world has long been asking. The desire has been met by Drs. Best and Bergin, whose toilsome labours during the past seven years are indicated but very imperfectly by the bulk of the volume before us. As the capacity of the joint editors for their task was admittedly unrivalled, it is superfluous to discuss the quality of their work. All that is therefore needed is to describe the new edition and say something of its importance from the point of view of Irish learning.

The *Lebor na hUidre* in its present state consists of 67 vellum leaves, or about half the number of the original book, according to the calculations of the editors. A lithographic facsimile of the MS. was made by the gifted copyist O'Longan, and published by the Royal Irish Academy in 1870. From that time forward the facsimile was used so commonly that the MS. was left in comparative neglect, with the result that forty years elapsed before a really critical study of the handwriting was undertaken. Dr. Best's keen eye then discovered that the writing was the work of three distinct scribes, and that Maelmuire mac Célechair (slain in 1106), to whom the whole book had hitherto been ascribed, was responsible for a part only. Before him came another and better penman, whose craftmanship may still be admired in some sixteen of the surviving pages. After Maelmuire came a third scribe, probably of the thirteenth century, who not only transcribed a few short pieces, but also erased many columns and pages of what Maelmuire had written and intercalated leaves to make way for recensions more to his own liking. Excellent photographic reproductions of two pages (one written by the first writer, but interpolated; the second written by Maelmuire, but interpolated) help to make the eye familiar with the three hands, whose individual peculiarities are described in detail by the

editors. In the printed text the hands are indicated by different founts—pica, small pica and long primer within brackets. Abbreviations are expanded silently where no points of grammar or orthography are involved, a sensible proceeding that should meet with general approval.

As the contents of the MS. (thirty-seven tracts or fragments in all) have already been edited, some of them many times over, in learned works or journals, no addition to the store of our printed literature is made by the new publication. Valuable, however, is the reference given in connection with every piece to other copies and published editions, as well as to the critical analysis of the manuscript tradition, where such has taken place. In the last-mentioned section Thurneysen's epoch-making work, *Die irische Helden-und Königsage*, has naturally the place of honour.

The science of Irish paleography, still in its infancy, should be advanced by the very full information given about the three scribes. Great as is the specific similarity between all Irish hands from the *prima manus* of the Würzburg glosses to the paper copies of Keating's *Forus Feasa*, penned nearly a thousand years later, no less great are the differences which reveal themselves to the experienced eye. A thorough study of Irish MSS. should make it possible to decide with certainty the century to which each belongs. If this point were reached we might look forward to a handbook of Irish paleography, a blessing that would be appreciated in our Universities and in seats of learning everywhere.

Speaking of Maelmuire son of Célechar, the editors point out very justly that he was in the line of a great tradition. The *Lebor na hUidre* itself affords abundant evidence of this. It should not, however, be forgotten that the intellectual culture represented by the Book had reached its zenith many centuries earlier. When Maelmuire wrote at Clonmacnois the monastery was in decadence, and the likelihood of its recovery was remote even if the Normans had never set foot in Ireland. The revival which followed the conclusion of the Norse seems to have been entirely on the literary side, for there is little evidence that it was accompanied by a corresponding revival of religious fervour.

More important almost almost than the composition of the various pieces is their subject-matter, and the principles which appear to govern the selection. Apart from tracts of Irish ecclesiastical interest like the Eulogy of Colmcille and the Vision of Adomnán there are two homilies on the Resurrection and on the Day of Judgment. Then come stories of the Ulster cycle, including the *Táin Bó Cuailgne* itself. The Voyage of Bran to the Land

of Women and that of Condla the Fair to the Land of Promise introduce a completely different series of tales; whilst the Voyage of Mael Dúin, with its Christian background, prepares the way for the Voyage of St. Brendan, a story which enjoyed immense popularity all over mediaeval Europe. Nor is the Ossianic cycle altogether neglected. At Clonmacnois, therefore, as in the other Irish monasteries, Gaelic culture, derived from the pagan Celtic past, and Christian culture, introduced by the missionaries and early churchmen, were harmoniously united. To this union the enormous success of the monasteries within the country was due. Clonmacnois for centuries stood in the front rank (if not actually in the foremost place) among these; this, too, though her founder belonged to one of the older peoples, and though her abbots for at least two hundred years were exclusively of pre-Celtic stock. The Uí Néill of the South favoured the foundation, but entered other monasteries when called themselves to the religious state. Tradition tells that the students of Clonmacnois were numbered by thousands, and history knows that her fame had penetrated to the court of Charles the Great. It is a sad thought that not one book from the days of her glory has survived, though books must have been copied by the hundred in her *scriptoria*. All the more wonderful then is this monument of fidelity to old traditions from the period of her decline. It illustrates (on the whole not unfavourably) Irish mediaeval literary taste, so different from our own, and allows us to feel something of that mediaeval atmosphere in which Ireland, in common with the rest of Europe, lived. Thus the *Lebor na hUidre* is destined to prove of abiding value, and it is a pleasure to have it at hand in a convenient form. J. R.

IRISLEABHAR MHUIGHE NUADHAD: Iris Bhliadhantamhail. Chuallachta Chuilm Cille. 1929. Pp. 136. 1s. 6d.

Ní h-ag táiriú ar an aimsir atá caite é, ach is mór an feabhas agus an mhaise atá ar Iris na Cuallachta i Maigh Nuad i mbliana seachas na blianta do chuaidh tharainn. Más cómhartha bríomhaireachta ar Chumann iris toirtiúil ealadhanta do chur le chéile, ní misde a rádh gur beag rian meattachta atá le feiscint i Maigh Nuad aniu i gceist na Gaelge.

Tá alt ó láimh an Ath. Mhic Fhinn ar Dhónal Ó Conaill, agus cuirfear suim fé leith ann 'sa mhéid go dtaisbeántar dhúinn na tuairimí do bhí amuich ar an gConallach le n-a linn féin, go mór mór ar an Mór Roinn. Is maith an t-alt é sin a thráchtann ar "Sgathán an Chrábhaidh." Dá mba mhó ár n-eólas ar an litríocht

san do sgríobhadh le linn an Ghaedhilg do bheith 'na beó-theangain, ní leanfaimís ní ba shia de ghléas sgríbhneórachta ná de chóir litrithe do caitheadh i leattaoibh le sgríbhneóirí mar Aodh Mac Aingil agus Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire trí céad blian ó shoin.

Is maith an obair do dhein an t-Ath. Ó Floinn an t-alt san " Dornán Cnuais ó Chuantaibh Cléire " do chur i gcló. Cnuasacht é—tuairim is trí céad focal ann—ó Ghaedhilg Oileáin Cléire, agus is ar éigin atá deich gcinn de sna foclaibh ná de sna h-abairtíbh le fáil i bhFoclóir Uí Dhuinnín. Is fíor an méid adeir an t-eagarthóir gur truagh ná cuirtear i gcló a bhfuil bailithe annso agus annsúd ag sgoláiríbh de'n adhbhar so. Ach is beag caoi atá ann a leithéid do dhéanamh. Ó cuireadh críoch leis an " Archiv für celtische Lexicographie," breis agus fiche blian ó shoin, níl aon fháil ag an ngnáth-sgoláire toradh a bhailiúcháin do chur i gcló.

Tá roinnt mhaith curtha i gcló san uimhir seo ó thaisge na láimh-sgríbhinn. Do chuir an t-Ath. Pól Breathnach ocht ndánta i n-eagar, seacht gcinn acu do sgríobh Brian Ó Corcráin agus ceann amháin le h-Eochaidh Ó h-Eoghusa. Ní gádh obair an Ath. Phóil do mhola annso. Is eol do chách an t-árd-chlú atá tuillte aige ag gabháil de san láimh-sgríbhinní.

Do cuireadh i gcló, leis, ó dhá lss. atá 'sa Choláiste, cnuasacht amhrán do chúm an tAth. Diarmaid Ó Séagha agus daoine eile nach é. Is mór an t-iongna, agus obair d'á leithéid seo ar siubhal, ná déanfaí comórtas idir an leagan atá i lss. na Coláiste agus na leagain eile atá 'san Acadamh nó i gColáiste na Trínóide. San Acadamh amháin, tá suas le cheithre cóipeanna le fáil ar nach mór gach amhrán do cuireadh i gcló 'san Iris. Ba cheart an obair do dheanamh go h-iomlán má tugtar fé i n-aon chor. Tá roinnt mhaith amhrán eile leis an Ath. Ó Séagha i 23O39, agus 'san ls. san, leis, tá an nóta (fo. 4), " D. Ó S., .i. sagart maith do bhí i gCiarruighe 1724."

I dteannta na n-alt so do luamar, tá altanna ar " Táin Bó Cuailnge," ar " Toirdhealbhach Luineach Ó Néill," agus ar " Lámh-sgaoileadh na gCatoileacach." Tá sgéal nó dhó ann ó'n Ghaeltacht, agus cúpla dán agus amhrán nua-dhéanta. Is suimiúil agus is taitneamhach iad na tuairisgí atá le fáil ann ar staid na Gaelge 'sa Choláiste. Ach muna mbeadh ach an Iris féin ann mar chómhartha níor bheag san. S. Ó C.

LITRIDHEACHT NA GAEDHILGE. Criostóir Ó Raghallaigh, M.A., H. Dip. Ed., do chruinnigh agus do chuir i n-eagar. Brún agus Ó Nualláin. 1929. 3s. 6d.

Cnuasacht phróis agus filíochta í seo ó nua-litríocht na Gaedhilge. Ba mhaith leis an eagarthóir, mar adeir sé féin, cuid de sna seódaibh

is luachmara d'á bhfuil 'sa litríocht san, go mbeidís ar fáil ag macaoimh na h-Éireann. Ach, dar leis, siad na seóda luachmhara ná " na cora-cainnte agus na leagaineacha cainnte is fearr agus is taithneamhaighe." Agus is do réir na tuairime sin do thogh sé a bhfuil 'sa leabhar so. B'fhéidir gur d'á bharr san a tharrla na giotaí do bheith go leamh, neamh-slachtmhar go minic. Tá trí lochtaí le fáil agam ar na giotaíbh seo do toghadh. Tá, ar dtúis, mar adubhart cheana, gur deacair a thuisgint go minic cad do thug ar an eagarthóir a lán d'á bhfuil 'sa leabhar do chur isteach ann. Níl maitheas ná buaidh d'á luighead ag gabháil dóibh, níl deise cainnte ná taitneamh ná uaisleacht smaoinimh le fáil ionnta. Locht eile, gur annamh bhíonn bun ná barr leis na giotaíbh. Ba cheart go dtoghfaí d'á leithéid seo de leabhar eachtraí ghearra, nó tráchtas cumair ar mhéon duine áirithe nó ar radharc áluinn. 'Sé sin, ba cheart críoch agus deire bheith le gach ghiota. Agus is baolach nách amhlaidh atá go minic 'sa leabhar so. Éiríonn go minic as san ná bíonn aon-bhaint ag an dtiodal leis an ngiota atá fé. Cuir i gcás (l. 138) " Conall Ceárnach ar Chnoc Cailbhre." Tá Conall 'sa sgéal, ceart go leór, ach cá bhfuil Cnoc Cailbhre ? Fiú amháin ní h-ainmníotar é. An tríú locht—agus is docha go mbíonn an gearán so ag gach léirmheastóir ar chnuasacht—na giotaí ná fuighfear 'sa leabhar. Tá a lán gur mhaith liom a fheiscint ann agus ná fuilid ann, ach ní áirmheochad ach aoin-cheann amháin. Cad í mar chnuasacht ó'n nua-Ghaedhilg í sin ná beadh " An Ceól Sidhe " ó " Séadna " innti ?

Mar sin, is dóigh liom go n-oirfeadh an leabhar go measardha maith mar leabhar sgoile. Ach éinne go bhfuil roinnt mhaith de'n nua-litríocht léighte aige, agus gur mhaith leis aithne do chur ar sean-cháirdibh 'sa leabhar so, ní dóigh liom go mbainfidh seisean aon mhór-thaitneamh as. S.Ó C.

Fiction

L'INCANTATION. Roman. By Roger Chauviré. Paris : Firmin-Didot. 1929. Pp. 293. 12 fr.

This is a finely written and most moving book. The thesis—no, the main thread—of the story is that Ireland, ever old and young, ever beautiful and unhappy, ever overcome but unvanquished, casts her spell from age to age on the spirits of her elect ; so that each of them, singly, is " a soul alone, defenceless but unbending, a soul which in the invisible world, the only world that really counts, has conquered." It is almost like the

touch of grace, which leads men girt whither they would not: it takes Sir Francis Hackville, Protestant gentleman and owner of hereditary lands, to a convict prison, while his friend Jim Austin, the inflexibly loyal English officer, is proof against the charm. Kathleen ni Houlihan has her faithful followers, most naturally, amongst those of pure native Irish birth: Kathleen Kavanagh, ideal, enthusiastic, unworldly; Dermott O'Donohoue, the young intellectual leader; Mick O'Byrne, the joyously adventurous son of old Paddy, the farm steward.

Sir Francis's transformation is a very subtle and truly psychological process, beginning in the largeness of his sympathies; stimulated, however, by the increasing opposition of his own class. He is at length thrown headlong, violently, over into the other camp by the breach with his fiancée Beatrice Austin, portrayed as a fine example of her own type of womanhood. The last scene between them is certainly the most dramatic in the novel, and is wonderfully analytic.

The author's sympathies most obviously range him with Cato against the gods. And yet he holds the balance in a large measure even between his conflicting characters. Dermott and Mick are loyal to death; Francis, to an almost worse fate of penal servitude; but so is Father Tim in his effort wisely to guide his flock; so is Jim Austin, who courtmartials his friend and is killed in a vendetta by Paddy, who is hanged for it; so is Beatrice, who gives up the man she loves rather than sacrifice her idea of what is right.

If space allowed, we should quote page after page to show the clear beauty of the author's scenery, how he catches the spirit of places, and his vivid presentment of characteristic Irish types. The book is full of scenes touched with humour, and sometimes with satire; or impregnated with poetry, pathos, and deep emotion. Irish life has been studied with keen observation and sympathy.

It was perhaps inevitable that one or two details should be inexact. The jailers, Catholic though they were, could hardly "approach the Holy Table" with the condemned men; and in another order of ideas, we wonder whether Mick O'Byrne on that particular night really could see any "fun" ("*on a tant rigolé, Sir Francis*") in his adventure. Also, Irish Catholic children do not include the famous "I thank the goodness and the grace," etc. in their morning prayers!

Altogether, as we began by saying, it is a fine book, finely written; but it will no doubt give rise to much criticism. We should note that it dates from 1922, and alludes to nothing subsequent to that year. M. R.

MARIE DE JERUSALEM. Par Jean Ravennes. Paris: Plon. 1928. 15 fr.

THIS book is an imaginative reconstruction of the life of Our Lady. The author wishes to put the resources of novel-writing "at the service of a story in which the divine invention presents the highest and most complete form of the romantic." It will, on grounds of taste, be variously appreciated; for the difference in appeal to the imagination between this story and all others is one of kind no less than of degree. It is also, we fancy, open to criticism as to the exactness of certain minor details; but the author does not aim at producing a work of learning.

He would like to captivate those who are as yet without religion, and hopes that "the desire not to let this incomparable story fade away like a dream may lead them to remark that it cannot have been the interplay of mere human circumstance." Such readers will feel the tender charm of certain parts of the narrative, and its extreme variety. They will be struck by the wealth of imagery, the novel and sometimes ingenious turns of style, the glamour of the descriptions—the customs, festivals, landscapes, cities, civilisations, called up sometimes in exact detail, sometimes as with broad strokes of the painter's brush.

The author is strictly faithful to the Bible narrative, but he fills it out with historical detail and the results of antiquarian and Scriptural research. The early chapters are indeed dense with the effort to evoke the whole Old Testament atmosphere, as well as the many-coloured life of the time of Christ's birth. He makes a restrained use of legend and story; and as in the stream of tradition he finds the painters, again and again his scenes stand out like familiar pictures.

The parts that perhaps ordinary Christians will like least are those that are over poetically sentimental; and frankly we think it a mistake to try to adumbrate the feelings of Joseph to Our Lady in terms, even remotely, of human wooing and betrothal; or again, to describe in minute detail what may have happened, humanly, at such sacred and supernatural moments as those of the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity. Artists, it may be urged, treat these scenes realistically. Yes, but they can only show one moment, are only indirectly psychological, and leave the rest to our wonder and our faith. The realism of description of the temple sacrifices also seems excessive. But other parts of the book have a great and moving beauty: such as the life at Nazareth, and Our Lady's sojourn on earth after the death of Christ. The power of the book culminates in the last chapter, a long appeal to men from Our Lady of Love. M.R

History

STUDIES ON THE EARLY PAPACY. By Dom John Chapman, O.S.B. London : Sheed and Ward. 1928. Pp. 320. 7s. 6d. net.

THE EASTERN CHURCHES AND THE PAPACY. By S. Herbert Scott, D.Phil., B.Litt. (Oxon.). London : Sheed and Ward. 1928. Pp. 398. 15s. net.

PERHAPS the healthiest—and certainly the most inevitable—result of all the literature, lectures, and " Conversations " of recent years on " Reunion " has been the slowly growing preponderance of one point—the Papacy. The whole discussion has served to sharpen the outline of the real difficulty, perhaps the only real difficulty, of the separated Christian bodies. The Malines report, however inadequate, threw an amusing sidelight on the hold which the " foreign domination " idea still has upon the Anglican mind. And about the same time the Russian Orthodox writer M. Glubokovsky naïvely assured the late Mgr. Batiffol : " I believe firmly that if the Papacy is ready to renounce its claims, all misunderstanding will disappear."[1]

These two new volumes on the early Papacy—one from a Catholic, the other from an Anglican pen—are therefore as opportune as they are enlightening. It is a commonplace with such writers as Dr. Gore and M. Glubokovsky that the early Church, especially in the East, knew nothing of any such papal prerogatives as were defined at the Vatican Council. The primacy of the Roman See, if such existed, was a mere pre-eminence of dignity accorded to the see of the Imperial City, and in no sense a primacy of jurisdiction in matters of discipline or of faith. The Russian gentleman is so sure of this that he has gone the length of saying : " I accept the historic Papacy. We Orthodox are ready to return to it." (*loc. cit.*).

Now it is precisely this " historic Papacy " which the well-known scholarship of Dom John Chapman and Dr. S. H. Scott here presents to the consideration of M. Glubokovsky and those of his mind. These volumes are nothing if not history. Every page is bristling with carefully indexed historical documents. The rôle of the apologist is not accepted by either of the authors. They set out, they tell us, to study the Papacy historically within a rather narrow period. Dr. Scott does not take us beyond the ninth century ; Dom Chapman not beyond the sixth. Hence both, we may presume, are well within the limits of the " historic

[1] *The Christian East*, Nov. 1923.

Papacy." Yet Anglican and Catholic are here at one in maintaining that the exercise during this period by the Roman Pontiffs of a supreme and final jurisdiction in questions of faith and government over all the bishops and churches of both East and West is the only intelligible conclusion from the evidence we possess.

Dom Chapman's "Studies" are mostly reprints from the *Dublin* and *Downside Reviews*, but they are no whit less valuable and seasonable as such, and as a book on the Papacy they acquire a cumulative force which they would otherwise lack. They are eight in number. "The Growth of Patriarchates" is a rapid survey of Church administration up to the date of the "five patriarchates" which became stereotyped under Justinian. "St. Cyprian on the Church" is a lively and caustic rebutment of Dr. Kosch's interpretation of the "De Unitate," which is in fact the traditional Anglican interpretation. The striking act of papal jurisdiction involved in the trial and restoration of the Alexandrian St. Athanasius is described in the third paper, and is followed by the views of the fourth century Doctors: "St. John Chrysostom on St. Peter" and "St. Jerome on Rome." "The Condemnation of Pelagianism" is perhaps the most interesting of the collection, and the documents are presented with remarkable skill. They are an eloquent commentary on the supposed anti-papalism of Africa, as well as on the attitude of Palestine and the East towards Rome on a question of Faith. The position of the African Church is further elucidated by a paper on "Apiarius," a story which "has been treated by the Protestants with their usual contempt for historical accuracy," as the author remarks in his breezy way (p. 184). The last of the series, "The Age of Justinian," gives us, among other things, a striking picture of the anxiety of the Byzantine Emperor and of the whole of his obsequious Oriental episcopacy not to lose communion even with a Pope "who . . . has personally no good character, is not obviously in the right, and has already twice contradicted himself." (p. 232).

Dr. Scott's book is a tribute to his own freedom from prejudice, and is well calculated to impress any equally fair-minded inquirer. Its object is "to show from prime sources—from *Eastern* Councils and from *Eastern* Fathers—what the relations of the *Eastern* Churches with Rome really were, before Photius and his schism." (p. 3). These "prime sources" are chiefly the seven Oecumenical Councils prior to Photius, acknowledged by both East and West, "the settings, details, events, presuppositions and decisions of these gatherings representative of the whole Church." "Next

will come appeals of Easterns to the Roman pope—what the Easterns say of Peter and Rome and the papacy." (*ib.*).

This considerable material is developed, in a somewhat loose style, not free from irrelevancies, in three main sections. Part I is a discussion of ante-Nicene documents and events bearing on the primacy: the epistles of Clement, Ignatius, Irenaeus, the Shepherd of Hermas, Victor and the Easter controversy, Stephen and re-baptism, the case of Paul of Samosata, of Dionysius of Alexandria, and of Origen. The author is quite equal to his many adversaries in this highly controversial field.

Part II, the main body of the work, opens with an admirable chapter on "Caesaro-Papism," that curious pagan infiltration from the notion of the *Pontifex Maximus* which was to become the disease of the Oriental Church under the Byzantine emperors and the root cause of its final severance from the West. The great councils of Ephesus, Chalcedon and Constantinople are then subjected to a close and scholarly examination. Text after text is adduced in witness of the subjection, both in faith and discipline, which these almost exclusively Eastern assemblies manifested towards the Roman Pontiff. The author, of course, does not conceal his indebtedness to such Catholic scholars as Batiffol, Chapman, Fortescue, Duchesne, Gasquet, and other authorities on the early Church. He is nevertheless widely familiar with the original sources on which his thesis is based, and their prominence throughout leaves nothing to be desired. A tendency to repeat himself (with or without italics) and to interrupt the narrative with sudden excursions (which he assures us are not digressions) is, we think, a source of weakness in his presentation of the history of these councils. There is no lack of clarity, however, in either his premises or his conclusion, the validity of which it will be difficult to contest. Broadly it amounts to this, that the Eastern Christians of the first nine centuries—bishops, priests and laity—were, as a body, nothing less than downright papists; and would have remained so had they not been also, and chiefly, Byzantine imperialists.

Part III on Photius is a brief résumé of the events leading up to the schism of this ambitious "Caesaro-Papist."

At a time when the Orthodox Eastern Churches are the object of the special solicitude of the Holy See, this erudite volume should win the gratitude of Catholics at least; and it would be strange if it failed to bring enlightenment to many of those who share Dr. Scott's own religious allegiance.

P. H.

GESCHICHTE DER JESUITEN IN DEN LAENDERN DEUTSCHER ZUNGE. Von Bernhard Duhr, S.J. Band IV. Teil I–II. Regensburg: Manz. 1928. 60 Mk.

TWENTY-ONE years ago Father Duhr issued the first volume of his history, designed as part of that general scheme of a history of the Society of Jesus, to be studied in each separate Assistancy, which was planned at the beginning of the century and has since been carried out, more or less completely, in most of the countries of Europe. With these two bulky volumes Father Duhr brings his task to a close. Only one of his official fellow-historians has equalled this achievement. Father Astrain completed his great "History of the Society of Jesus in the Spanish Assistancy" shortly before his death, which took place this year. That work ran to seven volumes in all, and Father Duhr's German history is hardly less in sheer bulk. It is, if possible, even more full of curious and unexpected detail. For the great mass of material which lies unpublished in the Jesuit archives has been systematically searched by Father Duhr himself and a group of devoted fellow-workers, eager to preserve even the least scrap of evidence as to what the Jesuits were doing in Germany during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

It is curious to contrast these two official histories, now that both are complete. Father Astrain's is unquestionably the more easily read of the two, and the story he has to tell, especially in his first three volumes, is more dramatic in its interest; for the Spanish Assistancy was for the first century of the Society's existence admittedly the leading Assistancy in talent, in influence and in numbers. Father Duhr's history, on the other hand, becomes more and more interesting as his story proceeds. His last volume, which was reviewed in full in these pages (STUDIES, June, 1921, pp. 607–20) was chiefly notable for the light it threw on the controversy concerning witch-hunting, which became acute in Germany during the late seventeenth century; Father Spee was the hero of the narrative. No single figure dominates the narrative in these two volumes; but we are made to feel, as chapter is added to chapter in the long, detailed account of Jesuit activities, the amazing vitality which marked the German Province of the Society during the eighteenth century—a period which was not everywhere the most glorious in Jesuit history.

Those who are interested in the history of European education will find here a mass of detail about the German schools, their masters and their programmes, their theatrical performances and their success in the eyes of all, Protestant as well as Catholic.

Father Duhr does not carry his story beyond 1773, the year of the Suppression; but his readers will remember that the Jesuits in Prussia were kept together for some years after that date owing to the intervention of Frederick the Great, who refused to be parted from his best schoolmasters. Students of missionary history will be grateful to Father Duhr for his chapter entitled: *Nach Indien!* The title may mislead some, as we have forgotten the old usage which made "the Indies" a name for much of what we now vaguely describe as "the Missions." For the German Jesuits of the eighteenth century "India" meant above all South America, and those who have not read Father Anton Huonder's essays on the subject will be amazed to learn from Father Duhr's plain, unadorned narrative how much was done, and what adventures were risked, by German and Austrian Jesuits in the Spanish and Portuguese Missions of Paraguay, Brazil and Mexico.

Nearer home it is also interesting to note the influence of Italian popular preaching on the German *Volksmissionen* and *Exerzitien*. Father Segneri, for example, was a model whom many a German preacher sought to imitate, and the details of their apostolic journeyings up and down the country show German character under a light which will be new to many. But there is so much to choose from in these volumes that a reviewer finds it hard to pick and choose. Father Duhr has not Father Astrain's gift of sustained dramatic narrative; but he is always clear, always conscientious in his attempt to be accurate and impartial, and his material is arranged on so orderly a plan that it is easy to find at once what you need.

The last volume of his History ends—fitly enough—with the record of what the German Jesuit missionaries suffered in the dungeons of Pombal. All honour to their brave spirit, and all honour to the self-sacrificing labours of their historian. A. G.

ENGLISH ECCLESIASTICAL STUDIES. By Rose Graham, M.A., F.S.A. London: S.P.C.K. 1929. 15s.

This book consists of sixteen separate essays, published in reviews and publications of learned societies between 1903 and 1926. Six of these essays form a homogeneous group, for they deal with Cluny and the monasteries of that Order in England from the Conquest to the Reformation. A seventh treats of the intellectual influence exercised by English monasticism in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries; another of the civic position enjoyed (or endured) by women before the year 1800. The remaining chapters deal with ecclesiastical matters of a more technical

kind, such as "The Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV," "An Interdict on Dover, 1298-9." Method and a ripe scholarship are apparent in all the essays, and the book is excellently illustrated.

To the general reader by far the most interesting chapter in the book is that devoted to the state of learning in England between the tenth and the twelfth centuries. St. Benedict's Rule had come to Canterbury with St. Augustine, and had won triumphs symbolised by the person and work of the Venerable Bede. But collapse had set in long before the tenth century. Many monasteries were in ruins, many deserted, many maintained only by married clergy with their families. King Alfred attempted a revival, but failed. Edgar was more fortunate, but the renewal of Danish incursions speedily destroyed what he had restored. No great advance is therefore to be recorded until Lanfranc and his Norman monks arrived in England in the Conqueror's train.

During the tenth century the only school of note in England seems to have been Glastonbury, where Irish scholars were the teachers. Studies followed the traditional course marked out in the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*. The Bible and the works of the Fathers, "the Catholic and most famous authors," were the chief works read, but grammar had to be taught before these could be understood. Nor could the students be withheld from "the honeyed sweetness of verse," and we learn that St. Dunstan's study of "vain poems and the trifling histories of ancient paganism" laid him open to the charge of being a worker of magic. Dunstan became abbot of Glastonbury about 945. His chief pupil was Ethelwold, and the two with Oswald, Archbishop of York, restored about forty monasteries and schools. Most of the students in these were probably *oblati*, boys presented by their parents in childhood at the altar of the monastery that they might be reared as monks. Where there was no monastery the people depended for education on their parish priest, whose own stock of learning was rarely considerable.

Miss Graham declares (p. 160) that "the English Church alone of all national churches in the tenth and first half of the eleventh century had an extensive ecclesiastical vernacular literature," but in this she is mistaken, for the Irish Church had an extensive literature in the native tongue centuries before that date. No traces of the superstitious belief that the world was to end in the year A.D. 1000 are to be found in England; nor, we may add, in Ireland. In dealing with "the independence of the English Church" and "subjection to the Papal See" both in the Anglo-Saxon and the Norman periods, Miss Graham shows lamentable

confusion of thought. The English Church was independent of the Holy See only in so far as the Holy See allowed, either by the common law of the Church or by approved deviations from that law in the shape of national customs. In the East the actual government of the Church had always been exercised by the Patriarchs, and the privileges of these were expressly renewed by Innocent III at the Fourth Council of the Lateran in A.D. 1215. Beyond a general supervision of faith and discipline (involving the right of final decision in disputed questions of high import) the Pope renounced any part in the government of the Orientals. In the West, on the other hand, the Pope was sole Patriarch, but metropolitan sees and provincial synods enjoyed the widest powers, so that the matters referred for settlement to Rome were in practice few. From the eleventh century onwards the government of the Western Church became more and more centralised, and local (or national) autonomy, in consequence, became more and more restricted. That the Holy See was fully justified in adopting this course is proved by theologians, not by historians, with whose domain it has nothing to do. It is therefore foolish to speak of the English, Irish, or any other Church of the ninth or tenth century as independent of Rome, because it possessed an autonomy which was withdrawn from it in the eleventh or twelfth century. It was not independent of Rome as long as it recognised Rome's authority; and all Churches of the West recognised Rome's authority in the centuries under discussiou. Otherwise they would have been formally excommunicated, as was the Eastern Church at the Phocian Schism. "Independence of Rome" in the days of St. Dunstan or St. Anselm (as in Ireland from St. Patrick to St. Malachy) is a figment of the "Reformed" imagination, though writers who lay claim to historical accuracy repeat it *ad nauseam* in the twentieth century. They obviously do not realise that "independence of Rome" in the earlier age differs so much from "independence of Rome" in the sense which the phrase now bears that the term is thoroughly bad, and (unless accompanied by elaborate explanations) necessarily creates an absolutely false impression. J. R.

THE BYZANTINE ACHIEVEMENT. By Robert Byron. London: Routledge. 1929. 15s. net.

Mr. Byron is a young man who recently scored a considerable success with a book on the monastery of Mount Athos. He was moved to the writing of the work under review by his interest in Eastern Mediterranean history from 1919 to 1923, and in fact

appears originally to have intended this as a purely introductory study prefaced to an account of the modern period. He found that in order to explain the recent history of the Aegean world it is necessary to explain first its medieval history. He *believes* himself to have found, existing even yet, a widespread prejudice against the Byzantine Empire, fomented mainly by classical pedagogues, to a denunciation of whom his first chapter is largely devoted.

That such a prejudice did once exist can hardly be denied, and Mr. Byron's long introductory quotation from Lecky is a proof both of its vigour and of its efflorescence in quite recent times. But nowadays we should imagine that the door against which Mr. Byron thinks himself to be kicking so fiercely is fairly well open. Not a few of the foremost modern Byzantine scholars, notably Bury, began their careers as classical pedagogues, and Byzantine as well as modern Greek studies are coming to be more and more recognised in the larger universities everywhere.

Mr. Byron's case, therefore, suffers not a little from initial over-emphasis, amounting almost to positive bellicosity. The note is strained all through the book. Byzantine civilisation was undoubtedly under-estimated, but neither learning nor anything else is going to be served by now proceeding to over-estimate it as Mr. Byron does. Everything Byzantine is superlative, and when Mr. B. says so, let no dog bark ! El Greco is the supreme painter of all time, and Mr. Clive Bell's theory of art is both universally valid and unsurpassably exemplified in Byzantine mosaic work.

Mr. Byron's English appears to have been somewhat affected by his love for the writers of medieval Greece. He admits the faults of these latter, but his own style is turgid, over-abstract, and slovenly just as theirs was inclined to be. "The exquisite acutening of his aspirations," "the pan-psychology of all things and all times," "their tails twanged the ground," "a bi-sexual seminary"; these are only a few random specimens of his manner, which clearly loves the purple, whether born to it or not.

Finally, Mr. Byron adds to these ingredients a rooted prejudice against Catholicism. Perhaps in this respect his style is unfair to him, and the method of abstract allusiveness does not permit of the sort of criticism he wishes to utter. He gives the impression at anyrate of being both bigoted and quite peculiarly ignorant, for all his studies on Mount Athos. He makes the most violent

and contradictory charges against the Popes, which he not only fails to substantiate but which even his own context disproves. It is clear enough, indeed, that he has but little understanding of Christianity in any form; his pan-psychology, his pre-occupation with art as the expression of emotional reactions, do not give him time for that. He cites some Victorian as having said "Miracles have not and do not happen." The sentence is almost a miracle in itself; it seems to express, as well as it can, Mr. Byron's post-(very post–) Victorian views also.

It is probable that very many readers will be turned away from this book by its blatancy and crudity, and yet we hope it will succeed in being read in spite of itself. Its author has much knowledge and, without pretending to first-hand authority, gives quite an amount of interesting and valuable information beneath his verbiage. If he could acquire a little humility and much style he could produce a first-class book. It is because the need of many more good books on a most important subject is so obvious that we regret Mr. Byron's hasty and untidy, however well-meant, effort. M. T.

Miscellaneous

ANGLO-IRISH LITERATURE, 1200-1582. By St. John D. Seymour, B.D., Litt.D. Cambridge University Press. 1929. 12s. 6d. net.

Dr. Seymour's object is to give the ordinary reader "a general account of a literature the existence of which he may never have suspected"—the non-Celtic literature, French, Latin and English, of medieval Ireland. The earliest colonial literature was French, for French was the language of the leaders of the conquest. It is represented by two good narrative poems, "The Song of Dermot and the Earl" (written about 1200), and "The Entrenchment of Ross," and a poetic treatise, Jofroi of Waterford's version of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secreta Secretorum*. The Latin literature bulks larger, but the author selects the more interesting parts of it, such as FitzRalph's controversial works, and the famous account of the trial of Dame Alice Kyteler for witchcraft and heresy, from which he quotes liberally.

The best part of the medieval literature is, however, the English. We are here reminded of that first flourishing of English culture in this country, when English was spoken over perhaps a quarter of the island, and there was a lively popular culture and literature. This is enshrined in the "Kildare Poems" of MS. Harley 913 in the British Museum, composed early in the

fourteenth century in the Anglo-Irish dialect of the day (a dialect resembling those of S.W. England, the home of most of the colonists), and collected under Franciscan auspices, perhaps at Kildare. The collection is a very various one. It includes the fine "Hymn by Michael Kildare"; some sermons in verse, rough and powerful, one at least of which was intended for use by a pardoner; a political poem voicing the bitter complaint of the lower class against the evils that were beginning the decline of the colony; a ballad on the death of Sir Piers de Birmingham, a relentless foe to the Old Irish; an excellent playful satire on the people of some Anglo-Irish town; and "The Land of Cockagyne," which Furnivall called "the airiest and cleverest piece of satire in the whole range of Early English, if not of English, poetry." Thus it illustrates many sides of the life of the old Anglo-Ireland. Dr. Seymour gives some of the poems in full and extracts from the others, in a modernised version.

The fifteenth century offers two considerable prose works and many fragments. But it may be said that, after the Kildare Poems, Anglo-Irish literature is a small thing. It declined because the colony itself declined, growing smaller year by year until at the end of the medieval period it consisted only of the towns and the districts about Dublin and Wexford. Anglo-Ireland and Anglo-Irish literature were both almost closed chapters when the seventeenth century conquests started a new Anglo-Ireland and a new Anglo-Irish literature. To this really belongs Stanihurst, "oddest of English writers," author of a queer *Description of Ireland* and of a notorious translation of part of the Aeneid in English hexameters. Stanihurst is the subject of Dr. Seymour's final chapter. J. J. H.

FOLKLORE OF THE BRITISH ISLES. By Eleanor Hull. London: Methuen. 1928. Pp. 318. 7s. 6d.

IT is undoubtedly true, but not generally realized, that Ireland possesses the richest and most important body of folk-literature in Western Europe. It is also true to say that by far the greater part of this cultural heritage of the Irish nation is still unrecorded. In almost every townland a rich store of material awaits the collector, material of inestimable value to the historian, the archaeologist, the student of comparative religion and the mediaevalist. Until this material has been collected and examined by competent persons it is impossible to write with authority on the folklore of Ireland.

One must not conclude, however, that the printed sources for

the study of our folklore are negligible in quantity or in quality. Patrick Kennedy in the 'sixties and Hyde, Curtin, O'Leary, Lloyd and others have, during the last forty years, provided the student with a rich body of material of great value. The files of *An Gaedheal*, *Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge* and *An Claidheamh Soluis* contain a large number of tales, anecdotes, beliefs and customs, all of great interest and duly appreciated by students of Irish folklore. That delightful periodical, *An Lóchrann*, is a treasure-house of the popular traditions of Munster, while *An Stoc* and *An T-Ultach* are absolutely indispensable to all serious students.

Miss Hull in her latest book has given, and (as she points out on p. 19 of her work) deservedly so, pride of place to the folklore of Ireland and Gaelic Scotland. She has brought to her task all the zeal and fervour of the keen student. Her book is of interest and cannot afford to be ignored by anyone interested in the fascinating subject with which she deals so charmingly and enthusiastically. Still, one cannot readily forgive her for ignoring the claims of the sources which we have given and for devoting so much space for discussion of customs and beliefs contained in books written by untrustworthy and incompetent persons such as, for example, Lady Wilde, or by enthusiastic workers who lacked two of the most essential qualifications of the collector or student of Irish Folklore, viz., a thorough knowledge of the Gaelic language and a deep sympathy with and understanding of the common people of Gaeldom.

Although the book is well provided with references—an index is also appended—we have noted some thirty statements for which no authority is quoted.

For Gaelic Scotland Miss Hull's most important authorities are Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica* and Martin's *Western Isles*; for Ireland editions of early and mediaeval Irish texts published (with translations) during the last sixty years, and various antiquarian and linguistic journals. Hyde is represented only by his *Religious Songs of Connacht.*

In spite of its defects we have no hesitation in recommending this book to the attention of cultured Irishmen who see in the traditional lore of their nation something more than old-wives' tales and nonsense-rimes. If Miss Hull's book serves to sharpen their appreciation of the cultural and national value of this venerable heritage of Gaeldom, the learned author will be amply repaid for the immense labour involved in the writing of her book.

J. D.

ANTHOLOGY OF JESUS. Arranged and edited by Sir James Marchant. London: Cassell. 1926. 7s. 6d.

THE TREE OF LIFE. An Anthology made by Vivian de Ioia Pinto and George Neill Wright. London: Constable. 1929. 8s. 6d.

ANTHOLOGIES fall, for the most part, into one of two classes: those in which the principal interest of the compiler is literary—the literary merit of the extracts or their aptitude to illustrate some literary period or form; and those in which the compiler's main preoccupation is with the subject matter of the extracts. To the latter class belong the two anthologies before us.

For the conception of the former one can have nothing but praise. To bring together into one book the finest things said about our Lord by believers all down the ages, saints and men of the world, poets, preachers, scholars of every land, such is the scope of this work. And its aim, in the compiler's words, is "to quicken faith and love, and to turn the hearts of this generation . . . . to Him Who alone can bring them Salvation and Peace." It is plain from a study of the book that this aim has been pursued in all sincerity and singleness of purpose. There are a great many extracts from Catholic writers ancient and modern, though no doubt were the author a Catholic they would be more numerous. Anyhow all the extracts, and they are nearly all worthy of quotation, breathe a spirit of reverence and admiration for Christ our Lord. These four hundred extracts are grouped in consecutive chapters and are carefully indexed. On the whole there are few expressions of theological tenets not in accordance with Catholic faith, though some of the extracts on the Resurrection and the Ascension might be construed as explaining these mysteries away. And is it not rather gratuitous to set down the author of the Epistle to Hebrews as "The Alexandrian Apostle"? But, in spite of these and other minor reservations that might be made, we heartily commend this book.

We should like to be equally commendatory regarding the second anthology. It is "designed to illustrate the essential unity of religious, philosophic, and poetic thought as expressed in ancient and modern literature," and "to help in some slight degree to realize what a great modern poet has described as the dream of 'an alliance between religion . . . . . and complete rationality . . . . . by means of the interfusing effect of poetry.'" The essential unity spoken of by the editors seems, to judge by the extracts, achievable only by the elimination of all definite

doctorinal beliefs or their dilution into a few vague ideas and misty symbolisms, which are neither religion nor rationality. The editors commendably abstain from comment, confining themselves to the insertion of running titles. Thus chapter IV, entitled The Son of Man, has headings such as The Word Made Flesh—The Divine Child—Christ's Teaching—Our Lady—One Great Society—Our Life in Others—The Communion of Saints. From the point of view of the believer in the Catholic faith or in historical Christianity of any kind the extracts, often very interesting and beautiful in themselves, have no bearing on the subjects they are intended to illustrate. Pronouncements of pagans, rationalists, and agnostics are jumbled together with sayings of Christian mystics and saints. And to find out who the author of each extract is one must refer to the note at the end. The total effect can hardly be other than confusion of thought in the minds of most readers. We regret our inability to commend, as we should wish, the well-meaning efforts of the compilers.

S. J. B.

TRAVELS IN FRANCE. During the years 1787, 1788 *and* 1789. By Arthur Young. Edited by Constantia Maxwell, Lecturer in Modern History, Trinity College, Dublin. Cambridge University Press. 1929. 12s. 6d. net.

YOUNG'S *Travels in France* have always been considered a valuable contemporary source of information for the state of that country in the years immediately preceding the great Revolution. This convenient and copiously annotated edition of the work will therefore be welcomed by students of history or of economics. The latter will be particularly interested in the appended selections from the author's "Observations" dealing with the qualities of the soil, the methods of agriculture and the progress of commerce in the various French provinces.

Young was above all an agriculturist, but he interested himself also in other matters. During the last of his three tours, that of 1789, he notes the progress of public events and the trend of public opinion regarding them. Frequently he condemns the blindness of the nobility, the obstinacy with which they cling to their "privileges," and their lack of understanding of anything outside the narrow circle of their own interests. Or again, he notes the unpopularity of the Court and the readiness with which rumours of imaginary plots and intrigues, engineered against the people (as was alleged) by the Queen and by the brothers of the King, were generally believed.

Comparing this work with Young's earlier *Tour in Ireland*, we are struck with the fact that his opportunities for judging correctly the France of the 1780's were much superior to those at his disposal for pronouncing opinions on the Ireland of the 1770's. In France the author travelled about "on his own," on horseback or in a chaise. Being well acquainted with the language, he was able to converse freely with people of all classes whom he chanced to meet at the inns or on the road, obtaining thus first-hand information. In Ireland he was, of course, wholly ignorant of the tongue generally used by the majority of the rural population, and the only one with which very many of them were acquainted. He was merely handed on from one landowner to another, and was obliged to rely for everything, beyond what he actually saw, on the report of the proprietor or his agents, or on interpreters whose accuracy he had no means of testing. Moreover, it was only the best-managed estates that he visited; for it was naturally the landlords who interested themselves in the development of their lands and the welfare of their territory who acceded to his request to be permitted to visit them. The absentees and the rack-renters either made some excuse or simply ignored his letter. Thus, while the one work shows us, in the full daylight, the French peasant ground down by complicated dues and taxes, often clad in rags and living in a filthy hovel, the other paints us a very rose-tinted picture of the condition of the Irish poor. M. T. H.

JORGENSEN. An Autobiography. Vol. II. London: Sheed and Ward. 1929. 10s. 6d.

THE second volume of this remarkable life-story is no less interesting than the first. In the opening chapters the Danish poet and journalist is still hesitating at the threshold of the Church. But his conversion is not long delayed. At page 41 we find him putting himself under instruction, and very soon he is a Catholic. It was the year 1896. Jörgensen does not for a moment pretend that his submission to the Church ended at once his mental troubles or made a saint of him. Far from it. But it began a new orientation of his life, set his thoughts flowing in new channels, provided the spiritual medicaments which had virtue to heal his troubled soul.

The book is a threefold record: that of his interior life—his heart-searchings, self-reproaches, aspirations; that of his literary life; and that of his outward life—his domestic affairs, the places he visited, the people he met. The exigencies of his literary work

seem to have determined most of this outward life. They were the cause of his frequent journeyings and sojournings in various parts of Europe. We find him now in Assisi or Florence or Rome, anon in Louvain. Next he is in Sweden, then once more in Rome for a year or so, then back to Denmark. Later he goes to France and to England. He stays in monasteries—Beuron, Maredsous, Einsiedeln, Maria-Laach. He meets literary and social celebrities. He writes innumerable books. He lectures in various parts of Europe. He visits friends in Switzerland, Italy, Germany, France, and Belgium. He finds time, too, to read. We find him, for instance (p. 311), reading "Sheehan's wonderful book, *Luke Delmege*," from which he gives a long quotation. And amidst all this multifarious activity his spiritual life goes on and is recorded in his diary.

It is a book to broaden one's mental horizon and to impart to one something of that European Catholic outlook which we in Ireland so commonly lack. S. J. B.

PSYCHICAL EXPERIENCES OF A MUSICIAN. By Florizel von Reuter. With a Foreword by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. London: Simpkin Marshall. 1928. Pp. 320. 7s. 6d. net.

For anyone who makes a study of abnormal psychology or is engaged in psychic research, these experiences will certainly provide matter of interest. Their good faith is patent. Mr. von Reuter is a famous violinist—many will still remember the success of the juvenile prodigy "Florizel" in London some twenty years ago—and he is not likely to add to his popularity or his receipts by a public profession of spiritualism. The medium principally concerned is his own mother, obviously a lady of middle age, who only discovered her psychic gift as recently as 1925. But the subsequent years have been crowded with remarkable experiences. Confirmed as they are by many references to well-known living people who would surely protest if their names had been taken in vain, there can be no ground for discrediting the general accuracy of the record.

Mrs. von Reuter and her son began to try experiments in automatic script with the aid of a kind of ouija board called an "additor." The first messages they received seemed to be quite unintelligible, but proved to be written in German spelt backwards. Since then all kinds of languages have been used in the communications—English, French, German, Spanish, Italian, Swedish, Latin, Russian, Hungarian, Persian, Hindustani and Arabic.

Both Mrs. von Reuter and her son are cosmopolitan, and the more ordinary European languages are familiar to them ; but of such tongues as Hungarian, Russian, Arabic, Hindustani, etc. they naturally know nothing. Nevertheless sentences were spelt out in the ordinary European letters by the additor, the meaning of which experts at once recognised and translated. Not less interesting, however sceptical we may feel as to their real identity, are the names of the purporting communicators. Among musicians they include such famous *virtuosi* as Sarasate, Vieuxtemps, Massenet, Debussy, Joachim and above all Paganini, and amongst men of letters Emile Zola, Conrad and Charles Dickens, the last of whom delivers himself of some curious appreciations of contemporary novelists. He also disavows the American medium who purported to have taken down at his dictation the conclusion of *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*, and he informed the company that Edwin Drood was not dead and that Crisparkle was hiding him. Another communicating spirit, very devoted to the von Reuters, claimed to be a Spanish ancestor of theirs who late in life became a monk and was known as Brother Aloyisius (*sic*). He must have forgotten a good deal of his Latin, for when he professed to bless them in that language he said : " Deo te benedica." The book further includes some puzzling spirit photos. H. T.

LA VIE ARDENTE DE GERSON. Par M.-J. Pinet. Ars et Fides—No. 17. Bloud et Gay. 1929. Pp. 250. 12 fr.

IN her *avant-propos* to this delightful volume the authoress sums up its character in a sentence : " Ceci est, á mon pouvoir, le roman de Jehan Gerson, sans laisser d'être son histoire." It is the life of the great Chancellor of the University of Paris, the man who burst up the Great Schism and restored unity to the Church ; philosopher, theologian, mystic, professor and parish priest, chancellor and catechist of children, learned doctor and simplest of men, the man who saved the Papacy and laid the foundations of Gallicanism, lover of peace and recollection, whose lives were cast not in pleasant places but in ceaseless turmoil and controversy, in a Christendom still orthodox but rent with war and schism, when no man knew, not even the very saints then living, who was the true Vicar of Christ. Such is the hero of Madame Pinet's romance, for it reads like an historical novel with its ever lively colour and vigorous movement ; and yet it gives us a real picture of the life and times of a great Churchman and a great Frenchman.

As Gerson died on 12 July 1429, five days before St. Jeanne d'Arc reached Rheims with the Dauphin, he did not live to witness the triumph and the passion of La Pucelle. He was spared the sorrow of seeing the University he loved condemn her, of seeing his old opponent at Constance, Cauchon, who there defended the regicide theories of Jean Petit, judge and condemn the maid whose Divine mission Gerson had recognised. He had seen the coming of the English as conquerors ; he did not live to see their expulsion.

Madame Pinet does not weary the reader with lengthy analyses of Gerson's more learned works, but she gives us in exchange ample extracts from his writings " dans notre naturel langage que nous nommons françois ou roman." We thus get a picture of the Chancellor as he appeared to his sisters, kinsfolk and the common people he loved, for he was one of them, a farmer's son who got into the University by a " scholarship," and made good, a picture that shows him in some respects wondrously like St. Francis de Sales. These extracts, supplemented as they are by abundant quotations from contemporaries like Christine de Pisan, make the volume of great interest to Irish students of French and give atmosphere to the narrative, even if a word or two should puzzle the reader. JOHN HOWLEY.

Theology

GREGOR VON VALENCIA UND DER MOLINISMUS. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Praemolinismus. Von Wilhelm Hentrich, S.J. Innsbruck : Rauch. 1928. 6 mk.

Eine Dankesschuld meines Vaterlandes an Spanien : that is how Fr. Hentrich describes this study of one of Spain's most original thinkers. And the phrase is well chosen. For Germany, like all northern Europe, owes Spain much ; and in particular she owes Spain a lasting debt for the work done by a small group of Spanish Jesuits, of whom Gregory de Valencia was perhaps the most brilliant. For quarter of a century this child of Castile, fellow-pupil of Suarez, and student, as was Suarez, of the great Spanish schools at Salamanca and Valladolid, gave his best work to the new Jesuit University at Ingoldstadt. To Jesuits and Dominicans the world over he is famous as the champion of Molina's teaching at the famous public controversies *de auxiliis* ; the man who died in 1603, killed by the extra work thrown on him by that debate—*martyr gratiae molinisticae*, as one Dominican controversialist mockingly styles him. Father Hentrich shows

that he has perhaps a better title to fame as the founder of a definite theological school, as independent and original in thought as the school of Molina himself.

This short monograph of a hundred and fifty pages is the fruit of researches carried on for many years, not only among Valencia's printed works, but also among the unpublished Jesuit archives. Like the late Fr. Le Bachelet, Fr. Hentrich has succeeded in throwing a flood of light on his author's printed works by the study of unprinted letters to his colleagues and superiors, and in particular a whole series of more or less official memoranda. It is from this new evidence that he argues in favour of his author's originality. Very briefly, his main contention is as follows. Valencia's chief work—a *Commentary* in four volumes on the *Summa* of St. Thomas—was published at Ingolstadt between the years 1591 and 1598. The first volume, which was published in 1591, but was substantially " ready for the press " at least a year earlier, contains his theory of the relations between man's free will and the *concursus* of God's action as Universal Cause. Now, Molina's famous *Concordia* was first published in 1588, but was not set free for circulation until the summer of 1589. It can hardly have reached Valencia in Ingolstadt much before the end of that year or the first months of 1590. In Valencia's work there are certain passages which show plainly the influence of Molina's new theory. How far is the teaching of the book as a whole due to this influence ? And how far can the thought of Valencia, where it is shown to be independent of the teaching of Molina, be taken as at least a foreshadowing of what was to come from Coimbra ? Father Hentrich maintains that the essential points of Valencia's theory had been put forward as early as 1576, in a preliminary *Disputatio de divinae gratiae natura.* Those passages in the *Commentary* which show knowledge of Molina's special teaching are shown to be late insertions, made when the bulk of the work had already gone to press. Valencia's theory as a whole is neither Molinism nor even Pre-Molinism. It is an independent system of thought, for which Fr. Hentrich proposes the name of Valencianism. In a concluding chapter he sketches the later history of this system, at first discussed and criticised in the schools of the seventeenth century, then forgotten or inaccurately stated, and finally revived in more recent times by Scheeben in Germany, and—very notably—by De San, a Spaniard by origin, in Louvain.

These are technical points. Yet they have their interest for the student of Catholic history. Molinism is beyond all question the outstanding intellectual fact of the " Counter-reformation."

By tradition it is the Jesuit doctrine *par excellence.* Men defend it in the schools to-day with the sense of a corporate loyalty that transcends all personal opinion, as others still defend the doctrines of Bañes and his school. That is a legacy from the *Controversia de auxiliis.* In the sixteenth century opinions were less sharply divided into rival schools of thought. Many minds were attacking the problem, each from a different angle—Toledo and Bellarmine in Rome, Suarez and Vasquez in Spain, Molina in Portugal, Lessius in Louvain, and Valencia in Ingolstadt. In the end Suarez became the Society's official teacher; his theory was more easily sustained in the face of an Inquisition that was controlled by the Dominicans. Bellarmine, too, who was close to the centre of the storm in Rome, became increasingly cautious. But Lessius in far Louvain was as fearless in his logic as was Molina in Coimbra; and Valencia, so Fr. Hentrich argues, was as independent in spirit, and perhaps more original in his approach to the whole problem. For him the solution was to be found, not in the relations between God's knowledge and the free will of man, but in the metaphysical analysis of the free act of the will itself. Meeting the theory of Bañes with an absolute denial of his definition, he taught that the free act of the will by which man's choice is determined towards one or other of two alternatives, is not in its essence distinct from the faculty by which it is produced. As in God, so here in man's highest faculty, will and act are identical. The "application"—to use the term chosen by Valencia—of the will to a certain alternative is wholly free. It is man's own in so far as it is in no way determined by the *concursus* of God's activity, yet it has no entity distinct from the will. This is the mystery before which Valencia cries out in admiration: *Imitatur enim in hoc mirabiliter libertas nostra perfectionem divinam.*

There is, of course, no contradiction between the teaching and the theory of *scientia media.* Yet for a time Lessius at least was afraid. For Valencia was as logical as his brother in Louvain, and was prepared to admit, from his standpoint, a main thesis in the Dominican position: that God has no more than a highly probable knowledge of the *futura contingentia.* There follows an amusing comedy. Lessius writes hot-haste to Rome, that Bellarmine may use his great influence to prevent the publication of this dangerous doctrine. Meanwhile a Jesuit commission, appointed by Father Aquaviva, has decided that all Jesuit professors must hold the thesis that God's knowledge of the *futura contingentia* is certain; a finding that definitely committed the Society to

one form or other of the theory of *scientia media.* The commission's decision reached Valencia privately towards the end of 1590, just as his first volume was going through the press. Are the late insertions of Molina's new teaching the consequence of religious obedience, or are they the altered teaching of a man whose intellectual difficulties have at last been solved by contact with another mind as daring and original as his own ? It is a nice problem in human psychology, and Fr. Hentrich does his best to solve it. Anyhow the *martyr gratiae molinisticae* died in defence of the new teaching, and won fame by his defence.

A. G.

Shorter Notices

SAINT GREGOIRE LE GRAND. Par Mgr. Pierre Batiffol.
SAINT ANTONIN (1389-1459). Par Alexandre Masseron.
Paris: Gabalda. 1928. 7 fr. 50 each.

No one after Mgr. Duchesne was better qualified to write a life of Gregory the Great than that distinguished scholar, the late Mgr. Pierre Batiffol. In every line of this little book he shows his intimate acquaintance with all the documents of that confused, depressing period in which Gregory was the dominant figure. Civilization, culture, and even religion were never at a lower ebb in western Europe than about the sixth century. Gregory was a Roman patrician who had been Prefect of the City and then had founded a monastery, the celebrated *Clivus Scauri* that has such precious memories for English Catholics, for it was from there that Gregory sent the monks who accompanied St. Augustine. The writings of Gregory—the *Moralia*, the *Regula Pastoralis*, the *Dialogues*—though not those of a philosopher or theologian, have had an immense influence on Catholic devotion and practice. Gregory was a true Roman in character and temperament, practical, shrewd, pliant, firm. All his gifts for government were needed to maintain the unity of the Church and the prerogatives of the See of Peter and to re-christianise the newly barbarised western countries of Europe. Not many of the innumerable letters which Gregory got could have given him more pleasure than that which he received from St. Columbanus from Luxeuil, which was full of the strongest expressions of personal esteem and of loyalty to the Vicar of Christ.

M. Alexandre Masseron has written a charming sketch of a very attractive saint, who was also a great man in many departments. St. Antoninus, "of small frame held together by bones and sinews rather than by flesh," was a great reformer in an age that needed reformation, who achieved his greatest results by the example of his austere, saintly life. He was a Florentine and a Dominican, a disciple of Giovanni Dominici and a friend of Fra Angelico. His appointment as Archbishop of Florence in 1445 gave a fitting opportunity for the exercise of his great gifts, of intelligence, judgment and firmness: it also gave to the Church a saintly Archbishop of the stature of St. Charles Borromeo. He achieved an incalculable measure of success in the matter of reform both among clergy and laity. He was austere, poor in life, wise and infinitely charitable. His proceedure in reform was *mitissime durius, durissime.* In his social theories and experiments he was also a pioneer. His writings, especially his *Summa Theologica*, gave him a great reputation. Had there been many more men like St. Antoninus in his century, the fifteenth, the great disaster of the next century would probably never have occurred.

H. K.

OIDIOPUS I GCOLON. Pádraig de Brún d'aistrigh. Magh Nuadhat: Cuallacht Chuilm Cille. 1929. 2s.

Dr. Browne continues his excellent work of translating Greek plays into Irish. It is an undertaking which has justified itself, at least to anyone who has had the good fortune to see the translations produced on the stage. There is no doubt that they have brought Sophocles near to many who would never have known his plays; and the impression is convincing. I have a grateful memory of the acting of the title rôle in *Oedipus Rex* last year at Maynooth, and of the fine singing of the Chorus.

This translation is as good as the last. Irish comes very easily to meet the Greek for the translator, and the choral odes seem to my unskilled ear very faithful to the rhythm of the original. One expects faultless Irish from this writer, and I have not looked for flaws, but is there any authority for *aimsir na hallóide* (pp. 13,30), where the adverb *anallód* is truncated and inflected as a noun?

It is to be hoped that Irish players in Dublin and elsewhere will take courage to produce these plays. M. D.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT: A Biographical Study. By E. Iliff Robson. London: Jonathan Cape. 1929. 7s. 6d.

Mr. Robson has discovered from his reading of ancient and modern authorities that "there never was an accepted, settled idea of Alexander at all." And this discovery has led him to the further conclusion that "there was no settled picture of Alexander because there was no settled Alexander: he refused to be entered in a category. This being so, the recovery of the true Alexander in himself became impossible." Which all is another way of saying that Mr. Robson is a young man who has been reading a good deal of Croce and Gentile, and finds Alexander an interesting subject on whom his theories of subjective history can be easily exemplified. What he says is plainly true of every historical personage, and the same sort of book might easily be written about a dozen other "world-conquerors." But there is great advantage in Mr. Robson's choice. We know enough about Alexander to make a small book possible, and we do not know enough to make the task of reading through the original authorities too burdensome. Some of them are even quite interesting as literature, and Mr. Robson has plainly enjoyed himself. But he has added nothing to our knowledge of the subject, and he has probably irritated a good many of his readers by his self-conceit. A. G.

IN MEMORY OF ME or The Holy Mass Worthily Offered. By John L. Forster, S.J. London: Burns Oates & Washbourne. 1929. 4s. 6d.

This book is opportune both as a sequel to the magnificent Sydney Eucharistic Congress and as a contribution to the growing liturgical movement of to-day.

The first part of ten chapters deals with a variety of general considerations on the Mass in a thoughtful and devotional way. The second part of nine chapters is perhaps best described as the Ordinary and Canon of the Mass set to the second method of prayer of St. Ignatius's *Exercises*. The exposition is rich in Scripture quotations, theological and liturgical notes, anagogical senses, *élévations* and moral reflections. Those who could manage a missal and have not yet used this authentic and assuredly most fruitful method of assisting at Holy Mass will here receive admonition and instruction. Those on the other hand who follow their missal will find a remedy against automatism and other dangers of routine.

The method and object of Fr. Forster's book dispenses him doubtless

from fuller references and anything like an *apparatus criticus ;* but the annotation of a rubric at p. 171 " *We therefore most humbly pray and beseech Thee* —here the celebrant kisses the altar " does not seem quite accurate (Cf Gatterer : *Praxis Celebrandi*, 1926, n. 182). D. S. N.

NOBLESSE DE ROBE. By Princesse Bibesco. Paris : Grasset. 1928. 12 fr.

PLAYING on the words *noblesse de robe*, the author of this book lets us into the inner circle of those for whom dress is an all-important preoccupation in life, a delicate product of refined taste and skill, a world for the initiate.

It is a pleasant and brightly written book, with a more serious undercurrent than the subject would at first suggest. There is, for instance, the page of acute psychology where the undisputed sway of the creatress and dictatress of fashion is described : " The principal characteristics of aristocracy are to be found in this *élite*—pride of name carried to frenzy ; the habit of commanding which steels the glance ; the sense of responsibility which stiffens the jaw ; intercourse with inferiors which hardens the heart ; the absolute necessity of inspiring with respect and obligingness a crowd of people who are in one's charge—how can these women be anything else but captains ? " Or the contrast between Marguerite, the artist-work-girl, and her rich client : the English word client is quite in place here. In many a sprightly and satirical page there are sentences worth extracting, of which this is perhaps the best : " Paule imagines that she will hold up the course of the human seasons by fighting *against* one fashion and *for* another more becoming, the fashion of her youth."

One lays down the book with a sense of revelation, a sense of sadness and of the extreme disproportion of the things of the world. M. R.

LUDWIG FREIHERR VON PASTOR. Von Dr. Ignaz Philipp Dengel. München : Herder. 1929. Pp. 36. M. 0.60.

THIS is another, and this time a short sketch, of the life of Ludwig von Pastor in whose long and brilliant career at least half a dozen German celebrity-hunters have already found an opportunity for gratifying their *cacoethes scribendi*. This pamphlet, however, may fairly claim to be more authoritative and complete than most of its longer predecessors. Its author, Professor Ignatius Dengel, is in an exceptionally favourable position to attempt a biography of the dead historian, for not only is he Pastor's successor in the chair of History at Innsbruck University, but he was an intimate personal friend of his great predecessor, and one of the latter's most trusted collaborators in writing the History of the Popes.

This brochure, the reading of which makes one hope that it is merely a prelude to a longer Life, is exceedingly well done. Even allowing for a few rhetorical exaggerations (" ein Säkularmensch der wissenschaftlichen Welt " is hardly a phrase which damns with faint praise), the author does succeed in giving one an impression of the magnitude and opportuneness of Pastor's work, and the colossal industry and erudition of this great Catholic scholar. It is, of course, clear that Professor Dengel, himself a historian, is mainly interested in the doings of his master in the realms of scholarship, and is better able than another to appreciate the full import of Pastor's work ; certainly he makes even the uninitiated understand something of the dead man's superhuman toil and monumental achievement. Under these circumstances, we can readily forgive him, if he is somewhat less successful in showing us the human side of his subject. We touch at many points in his pages Pastor's sterling Catholic principle, his devout and simple piety ; but the character of the man himself remains a trifle shadowy and cold.

A more serious criticism—the only one which obtrudes itself—is that Prof. Dengel's solitary paragraph seems hardly quite to clear his subject from the "kleinlicher Anwurf fremder Mitwirkung." Or perhaps one should rather say that the professor was a little unpsychological in exciting one's curiosity as to how Pastor contrived to survey the huge field of human activity presented in his pages; to dismiss in a few timid lines the whole fascinating question of his organization and collaborators was not the best way to answer the very natural query. One would have appreciated a more open confession from one who must know the truth. Despite the omission, however, the pamphlet remains of keen interest, and the figure of Pastor is hardly lessened by the feared concealment. D. D.

CAPITALISM AND MORALITY. By Lewis Watt. London: Cassell. 1929. 3s. 6d.

THE principal contention in Father Watt's timely and admirable book is that the failure of all classes to observe the moral law in their business relations is responsible for a great deal of the poverty and social unrest that disfigure life at the present day. He remarks truly that the dictates of morality are not necessarily observed simply by carrying out contracts according to their terms; the justice of the terms themselves must be examined, and many rights and duties are incapable of being dealt with contractually. The question is discussed whether such a divorce between business and morality is a necessary feature of the modern capitalist organization of industry, and the conclusion is reached that there is no necessity for any such divorce. All the evils attendant on the relations between capital and labour are shown to be accidental rather than essential features of the existing industrial system, and most of them would vanish if business men on the one hand and the employees on the other were more strict in their observance of their moral obligations. Father Watt is of opinion that the best hope for better industrial relations in future lies in the direction of an awakened sense of moral responsibility among individual business men and trade unionists, but admits that legislation may be necessary to enforce certain minimum standards of just dealing. The subject is discussed with an evident realization of the practical difficulties involved, and the book is consequently free of that utopian detachment from real life that diminishes the value of many well-meant proposals of social reform. G. O'B.

CONFERENCIAS DE SENORAS DE SAN VICENTE DE PAUL DE LA REPUBLICA ARGENTINA. Memoria de 1927 presentada a la Asamblea del 19 de Julio de 1928. Buenos Aires: Imprenta López-Perú. 1928. pp. 400.

So energetic are the ladies of the Argentine in work for the poor that it takes a book of 400 pages to give the barest record of their activities for a year. The work is excellently organized under a General Director (Father Sigismund Masferrer, S.J.), a General Council, 19 local councils and 158 conferences. In addition there is a section for youthful aspirants, numbering 4,074, with a council of their own; also 127 workshops, where clothes are made for the poor. The balance sheet for the year shows that the ladies of St. Vincent de Paul bestowed upon their suffering brethren about £40,000 in wages; £8,000 in financial assistance; £60,000 in food; £7,000 in clothes; £1,200 in shoes; £6,000 in maintaining orphans and the aged; £3,000 in providing sewing-machines or similar instruments; £28,000 in various beneficent works and £100,000 in special works. They collected during the year about £360,000, all told, for charitable purposes. They succoured 3,884 families, 7,518 men, 38,953 women, 15,803 boys, 18,127 girls. Many of these were placed in hospitals or orphanages; others found employment as servants; others were

fitted out with clothes and boots so that they could go to school. The total number of ladies active in St. Vincent de Paul societies within the Argentine Republic is given as 10,939. This is certainly a record of which any country may be proud. J.R.

JESUITES MISSIONNAIRES. Syrie—Proche-Orient. Par Henri Charles, S.J. Paris: Beauchesne. 1929. 10 fr.

THE Missions of the Near East possess an interest peculiar to themselves The Catholic missionary there is working amid conditions that exist nowhere else in the world. Elsewhere he faces the task of converting a people belonging to a definite race and professing, for the most part, a single religion. There are exceptions, but that is the normal situation. In the Near East he is confronted with an inextricable tangle of races, religions, and rites. From it there emerges a threefold task: to preserve and foster the Eastern Catholic Churches with their varied rites and immemorial traditions—Greeks and Maronites, Syrians and Copts; to win back the schismatic churches, some of which have been cut off for more than a thousand years; and, hardest of all, to attempt the conversion of Islam.

This book is a condensed but lucid résumé of the part played by the Jesuits in this tremendous task. Their position was exceptionally delicate and difficult. Working under the jealous eye of a Mohammedan government (now happily shaken off from all but Anatolia), doubly foreigners both by their nationality and their rite, even when not by religion, they have, along with the other Orders labouring in the same field (Franciscans, Dominicans, Assumptionists), accomplished wonderful things. Finest of all their achievements is the University of Beyrouth.

This little book will be of much interest even to those who do not read French, for its one hundred and sixty beautiful heliogravures make it a veritable album of the Near East. S. J. B.

LITTERATURE LATINE CHRETIENNE. Par l'Abbé G. Bardy. Paris: Bloud et Gay. 1929. 10 fr.

THIS volume, the twentieth published in the "Bibliothèque Catholique des Sciences Religieuses," is a companion volume to the same author's *Littérature grecque chrétienne*, reviewed in STUDIES in the issue of June, 1928. *Mutatis mutandis*, there is little to add to what has been said about the previous work. The present volume is characterised by the same clarity, the same moderation of judgment, the same scholarly but human treatment which marked its predecessor. Of scholarship, indeed, the name of the Abbé Bardy is a guarantee. This book, however, will be of more general interest and greater utility. Few, alas, could be led by reading about the Greek Fathers to reading the Fathers themselves; but there are still a goodly number to whom the Latins are far from being a sealed book, even though Tertullian's vigorous eccentricities puzzle them at times. From this volume they may learn to sip from the brimming cup with profit and with pleasure.

And it is worth while knowing something about these Latins, for we owe a lot to them. We are their spiritual and intellectual heirs, and we cannot deny our ancestry. And then the interest of them individually. Tertullian for instance, that *âme de colère et de passion*, the man who minted many of the phrases that are still the current coin of theologians, and whose epigrams are glibly misquoted daily. Or Augustine, a giant even among the great ones, who laid bare to the reverent eyes of posterity the workings of God's grace in the soul. One sympathises with the concluding wish of the Abbé Bardy: "*On voudrait que ce petit livre, où l'on a essayé de parler d'eux avec reconnaissance, aidât ses lecteurs à les mieux connaître et à les mieux aimer.*" T. A. J.

Books received :—

Aloysius, Father ...	The Pocket Missal. (Gill, 1/6).
Aquinas, S. Thomas	Summa Contra Gentiles. Bk. IV. Translated by the Dominican Fathers. (Burns Oates, 12/-).
Ashburnham, Lady	The Witness of the Martyrs. (Sheed & Ward, 3/6).
Barclay, Vera ...	The Scout Way. (Sheed & Ward, 2/6).
Barzin, M. ...	Sur le principe du tiers exclu. Archives de la Société Belge de Philosophie. (Stevens, 3 fr.).
Benedicht, An tAth.	Lorcán Naomhtha Ua Tuathail. (Ó Fallamhain).
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REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS

OF

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 29th day of July, 1929

The Directors submit to the Shareholders the annexed Balance Sheet as at 30th June, 1929, with relative Profit and Loss Account for the Half-year to that date, and a copy of the Auditor's Report thereon.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to ...	£45,659	17	1
To which has to be added:—			
Balance of undivided profits from last Account	33,113	2	7
	£78,772	19	8
The Directors have transferred to the Reserve Fund the sum of ...	£10,000	0	0
And they recommend that the balance be applied as follows, viz.:—			
In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of Twelve and a half per cent. per annum, subject to deduction of Income Tax ...	31,250	0	0
In reduction of Bank Premises Account	7,500	0	0
To next Account	30,022	19	8
	£78,772	19	8

The Reserve Fund now stands at £660,000

By Order of the Board,

ALFRED T. COLLINS,
General Manager

DUBLIN, 15th July, 1929

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Dr. BALANCE SHEET, 30th JUNE, 1929 Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.
To Capital, viz.:—100,000 Shares of £20 each—£2,000,000; amount paid up, £5 per Share	500,000	0	0
,, Reserve Fund	660,000	0	0
,, Bank's Consolidated Notes in Circulation	324,617	0	0
,, Deposit, Current, and other Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	11,695,869	8	0
,, Sundry Agents	71,186	9	2
,, Rebate on Bills Discounted not at maturity	8,713	0	11
,, Profit and Loss Account ... £78,772 19 8			
Less: Transferred to Reserve Fund ... 10,000 0 0			
	68,772	19	8
	£13,329,158	17	9

ASSETS.	£	s.	d.
By Cash in hand and with Bankers ...	642,508	16	7
,, Investments, viz.:—			
War Loan, Irish Free State National Loans and other Government Stocks ...	5,322,989	3	7
Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks and other Securities	181,815	11	3
	6,147,313	11	5
,, Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc.	6,944,542	8	1
,, Sundry Agents	15,905	1	5
,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 58 Branches), written down to	221,397	16	10
	£13,329,158	17	9

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ending 30th June, 1929.

	£	s.	d.
To Expenses of Management, including Directors' Fees, Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, Bonuses and Grants to Staff, Rents, Rates, Repairs, Inland Revenue Taxes, and all other outlay ...	101,656	16	5
,, Amount transferred to Reserve Fund	10,000	0	0
,, Dividend to be paid in August, 1929, subject to deduction of Income Tax ... £ s. d. 31,250 0 0			
,, Bank Premises Acct. 7,500 0 0			
,, Balance to next Acct. 30,022 19 8			
	68,772	19	8
	£180,429	16	1

	£	s.	d.
By Balance from last Account ...	33,113	2	7
,, Gross Profits for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, Bad and Doubtful Debts and Contingencies	147,316	13	6
	£180,429	16	1

AUDITOR'S REPORT

I have obtained all the information and explanations I have equired in the course of my examination in detail of the foregoing rofit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

I have verified the Investments. Their market value as on 0th June, 1929, is in excess of the amount at which they tand in the Balance Sheet. I have also verified the Cash and Bills n hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in my opinion, properly drawn up so as o exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's ffairs according to the best of my information and the explana- ions given to me, and as shown by the Books of the Company nd the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY (KEAN & Co.),
UBLIN, 15th July, 1929. Chartered Accountant, Auditor.

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